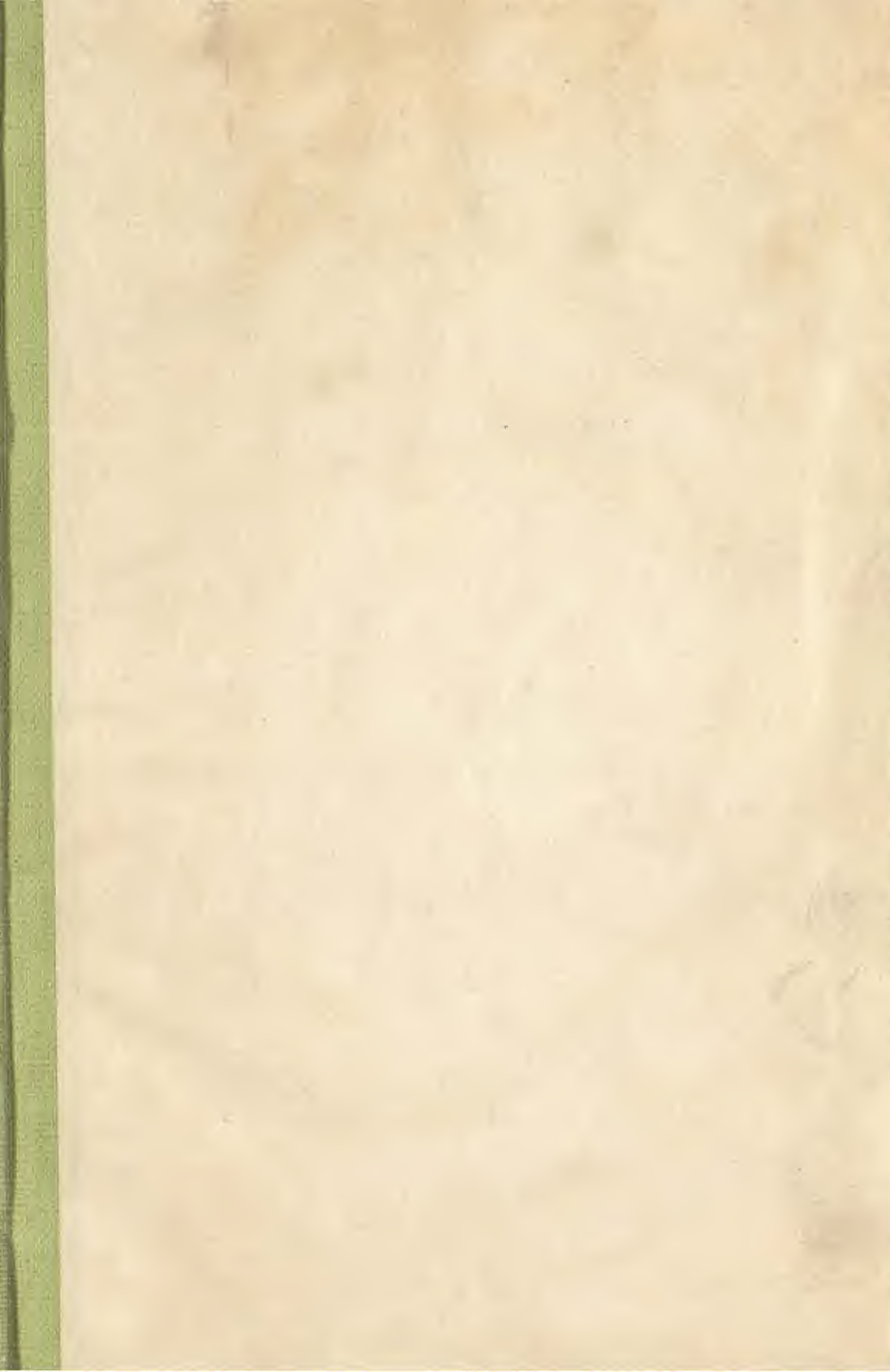


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BHĀRATĪYA VIDYĀ

A quarterly research organ of the Bhavan
on all subjects connected with Indian Culture

50912

VOLUME XXVII : Nos. 1 to 4

1967

Vol. 27

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BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN

BOMBAY 7

Issued in July 1969

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COCK IN VEDIC LITERATURE*

891.05

By

B.V.

V. V. BHIDE

It is very interesting to note the different kinds of animals that are to be offered at the various Animal-sacrifices. A reference to a cock in the list of these animals is very rare. Except in the Aśvamedha sacrifice there is no such reference to a cock in the Vedic literature. In this paper it is proposed to present some interesting material relating to a cock.

At the great Aśvamedha sacrifice a number of domestic as well as wild animals are to be offered to the different deities. In the list of these animals there is a reference to a cock to be offered to the Sun.¹ After these animals are formally dedicated to the relevant deities, all the wild animals are to be released and the remaining rites are to be performed with the offerings of the clarified butter. In this connection, Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra prescribes that all the animals, beginning with 'a boar that is to be offered to the King Indra (TS V.5.11), are wild animals'² In the list of these wild animals a cock is mentioned and therefore it is to be released and not immolated. The word denoting a cock is *Kṛkavāku* and it is variously interpreted by commentators.³

This word *Kṛkavāku* occurs in the ancillary literature of the Rgveda known as *khila* (V. 22.8). This verse from *khila* in which a cock is referred to, is quoted in the Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra (XII. 24.2). In his translation of this Sūtra Caland translates the relevant portion of this verse as "The harlot runs with a *śamyā* (stick) around the cock".⁴ This verse is also found in the Atharvaveda (XX.1.36). Here a cock is connected with a harlot and thus probably with sorcery also. Another reference to a cock is also found in the Atharvaveda (V. 31.2).⁵ Whitney translates this verse as 'What witchcraft they have made for in a cock, or what in a

* A paper read at the 22nd Session of All India Oriental Conference, Gauhati. 1965.

1. कृकवाकुः सावित्रः cf. TS. V.5.18; VS XXIV. 35; MS III.14.15.
2. इन्द्राय राजे इति सर्वानेवावारण्यान् Baudh. SS. 15.28.
3. वरप्यकुक्कुट according to Sāyana and Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara. ताम्रचूड according to Uvaṭa and Mahādhara.
4. महानगनी कृकवाकुं शम्यया परिधावति। The word Mahānagnī occurs in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa I.27, where the meaning of this word is harlot.
5. यां ते चक्रुः कृकवाकावजो यो यो कुरीरिणि । अस्मां ते ह्यजां यो यजन् प्रति हवामि ते ॥

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kurira-wearing goat, in ewe what witchcraft they have made- I take that back again.' Here a cock is referred to along with other domestic animals like a goat and sheep and it is related to sorcery.

These references clearly indicate that a cock was accepted as the domestic animal in Vedic times. Commenting upon the above-mentioned verse from the Atharvaveda, Weber pointed out the taming of a cock in Vedic times. He remarks 'Dass der Hahn hier an der spitze aller Haustihere steht, ist auffällig' (that the cock is here at the head of all domestic animals is remarkable.)⁶ While annotating the life of the people in ancient India, Zimmer has noted the fact that a cock was one of the common domestic animals in Vedic times.⁷

It is very significant to note that a cock is referred to in the Atharvaveda which is mainly related to the religion of the masses. Winternitz remarks 'A large number of songs and charms of the Atharvaveda were used at the various ceremonies which had to be performed by the herdsman for the prosperity of the cattle and by the farmers for the growth of the fruits of the field.'⁸ The sacrificial institution is particularly dealt with in the Vedas except the Atharvaveda and in the Brāhmaṇa literature. This may be the cause for the exclusion of a cock from the animals fit for the Śrauta sacrifices except in the Aśvamedha sacrifice.

The procedure of an animal-sacrifice is rather complicated. After a certain animal is formally dedicated to the deity, it is immolated and then the omentum (वण) and various limbs are extracted. They are cooked and then the offerings are made to the relevant deities. This procedure cannot be applied to a cock, because it has no omentum. Secondly it lacks some limbs that are to be extracted from the body of a sacrificial animal.⁹ This might be the prime cause for the exclusion of a cock from the list of the sacrificial animals in the Vedic literature.

In connection with the prohibition of eating the meat of animals, Manu distinguishes the wild-cock from the domestic-cock. He has enumerated the domestic cock in the list of animals prohibited for eating.¹⁰ Commenting upon this verse, the commentators explicitly pointed out the fact that the word *grāma* is particularly used to exclude the wild-cock from this prohibition.¹¹ This exclu-

6. See: Indischen Studien, Vol. 18, p. 285.

7. See: Altendischen Leben, p. 91.

8. History of Indian Literature, Vol. I, p. 160.

9. This information is supported by the Deputy Director, Institute of Veterinary Biological Products, Poona.

10. कलविडकं प्लवं हंसं चक्राह्वं ग्रामकुक्कुटम् । V.12.

11. कुल्लुकः-ग्रामग्रहणम् आरण्यकुक्कुटान्मनुजानाम् ।

माविन्दराजः-ग्रामनिवासिवादेव प्रतिषेधे सिद्धे जात्येकांश्च आरण्यस्य अभक्षिताशङ्का स्यात् तदर्थं वचनम् ।

sion of the wild-cock from the list of the animals fit for eating, can be explained properly. In the Vedas a wild-cock is enlisted among the animals fit for a sacrifice and therefore it must be accepted as fit for eating. Smṛtikāras like Manu are laying down the rules for the persons that are entitled to perform Vedic sacrifices. The domestic-cock was, however, accepted by a common man who was following the religion based on the Atharvaveda. As the domestic-cock was not related to the Vedic sacrifice there is prohibition for its eating.

A large part of the society was following the popular religion. As a cock was excluded from the Śrauta sacrifice, it was domesticated by the people who were not following the Brahmanical religion. These people were inhabitants of different villages. They often offered cocks and other valuable possessions to the deity at the time of worship. Whitehead remarks 'Villagers are of the opinion that the villages are surrounded by spells. Hence to remove the bad effects of spells they invoke the principal deity of the particular village and offer cocks, goats, sheep etc., to that deity in the annual festivals.' He further adds 'In some villages where there is a permanent shrine, offerings of rice, fruit, flowers etc., are made every day, but occasionally of goats, sheep etc.'¹² Offering a cock to the deity is still prevalent among the villagers. This is really a cock-sacrifice. For the attainment of certain desire a vow about offering of a cock is to be taken and after the fulfilment of such vow a cock is offered to the deity. On account of such vow a number of cocks are offered to the village deities like Bahirobā, Mariāi, Mahasobā. It is worth-noting that the nature of these deities is altogether different from the Vedic deities.

It would be significant to note here some interesting information about a cock. In old times a cock was understood as a good time-keeper and still in some part of our country it is the only clock for the villagers. This fact is also referred to by Yāska in Nirukta (XII. 13). He explains the word *Kṛkavāku* as one whose former part is onomatopoetic and the latter part is derived from the root *vac*. He further points out that a cock is related to the Sun as it announces the time of the Sunrise.¹³ This relation of a cock with the time of Sunrise is also depicted in the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali on Aṣṭādhyāyī (I. 3. 48). There is a reference *varatanu, sampravadanti kukkutaḥ* 'O beautiful lady, cocks are crowing', meaning thereby that it is the time of Sunrise. This full verse¹⁴ has

12. See: The Village Gods of South India, p. 45.

13. पूर्व शब्दानुकरणं वनेस्तरम् । कस्मात् सामान्यादिति कालानुवादं परीत्य ।

14. अयि विजह्रीहि दूदोपगूहनं त्यज नवसङ्गमभीरु वल्लभम् ।

अरुणकरोद्गम एव वर्तते वरतनुः संप्रवदति कुक्कुटाः ॥

been quoted by the commentator of Kāśikā on the same Sūtra. Weber explains the word *Kṛkavāku* as "das wort *Kṛkavāku* gehört zu den uralten indogermenschen onomatopoeien, daher Keine Lautverschiebung" (the word *Kṛkavāku* [Kikeriki in German] belongs to the old Indo-Germanic onomatopoeic words, hence no displacement of sounds).¹⁵ Kṣīraswāmī the commentator of Amarakoṣa explains this word *Kṛkavāku* as one who makes a sound with the help of head and neck.¹⁶

The word *Kukkuṭa* is not common in the Vedic literature. It is only found in the Saṃhitās of the Śukla Yajurveda.¹⁷ But the meaning of the word is altogether different. The formula, in which this word occurs, is *kukkuṭo' si madhujihvaḥ* and it is employed at the procedure of hitting the lower and upper crushing stones with a stick called *Śamyā*.¹⁸ While interpreting this formula it is absolutely necessary that the words *kukkuṭa* and *madhujihva* are to be understood as the qualifications of the stick. While referring to this formula Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (I.1.4.18) prescribes that there might be one person having sweet tongue in relation to gods and poisonous tongue in relation to demons.¹⁹ While commenting on this formula the commentators have given various interpretations of the word *Kukkuṭa*. They are:

१. महीधर :—हे शम्यारूप यज्ञायुधविशेष, त्वं कुक्कुटोऽसि असुराणां मधुजिह्वः चासि देवानाम् । असुराः क्व क्वेति तान् हन्तुमिच्छन् योऽति सर्वत्र संचरति । यद्वा कुकं कुत्सितशब्दं कुटति तनोतीति कुक्कुटः । यद्वा कुक्कुटाख्यपक्षिबद्ध्वनिविशेषम् असुरभीत्यर्थं तनोतीति कुक्कुट इत्युपचर्यते ।
२. उवद :—कुत्सितं शब्दम् असुरघ्नम् असुराणां तनोतीति कुक्कुटः । असुरघ्नीं वाचम् उपादाय क्व क्व असुरा योऽति असौ कुक्कुटः ।
३. सायण :—हे शम्यारूप यज्ञायुधविशेष, त्वं कुक्कुटो मधुजिह्वोऽसि । असुराः क्व क्वेत्येवं तान् हन्तुमिच्छन् यः पुमान् अति सर्वत्र संचरति सोऽयं कुक्कुटः । यद्वा कुक्कुटाख्यपक्षिबद्ध्वनिविशेषम् असुरभीत्यर्थं यः करोति सोऽयं कुक्कुट इत्युपचर्यते । मधुजिह्वनामा कश्चिद्देवानां भूत्यः । मधुभाषिणी जिह्वा यस्येति तद्व्युत्पत्तिः ।
४. दयानन्दसरस्वती :—कुकं परद्रव्यदातारं चोरं शत्रुं वा कुटति येन स यज्ञः ।

The word *kukkuṭa* is also found in the later Upaniṣads. A reference to the *Kukkuṭāṇḍa* (egg) occurs in the Yogaśikhopaniṣad (V. 21), where the Universe is compared with the egg. Again there is a reference to *Kukkuṭāsana* in the Trīśikhabrāhmaṇopaniṣad (II. 42).

15. Indischen Studien, Vol. 18, p. 285.

16. कृकेण शिरोधीवेण वक्ति — कृकवाकुः । on Amarakoṣa II.5.18.

17. VS I.16; VS (Kāṇva) I.15.

18. आहृत्यन्यो दृषदुपले कुक्कुटोऽसीति त्रिः शम्यका । Kāt. SS II.4.15.

19. मधुजिह्वो वै स देवेभ्य आसीत् विपजिह्वोऽसुरेभ्यः ।

A cock is related to Kārtikeya. In Mahābhārata it is told that when the Kārtikeya was honoured as the chief of the army of gods, a cock was presented to him by the Fire-God.²⁰ In the Tantra Texts also a cock is referred to along with the Kārtikeya. In this connection, Chakravarti remarks 'Rules for the worship of Kārtikeya are laid down in Tantra. This deity holds a cock in one of his hands.'²¹ In the Chāṇakyaśataka there is a popular verse which points out that the following four things are to be learnt from a cock—fighting spirit, early rising, taking food in the company and protecting a woman in danger.²²

It would be very interesting to add here some information about the cock found in the Avestan and Pahlavi Texts.²³ The word *Parodērē* meaning a cock, occurs three times in the *Vidēvdāt*.²⁴ In the Pahlavi Dēnkart book VIII chapter 44.69 a mention is made about the proper duties and the great value of the *Parodarsh* (sk. *parā + dṛś*), that is, the foreseer of the dawn, an epithet of the domestic cock.²⁵ Bartholomae and Kanga have assigned to this word the meaning, 'the name of a cock'; Kanga, further explains that a cock, by its crowing, scares away *Bush-yāsta*, the demon of sloth. In other words it is the cock which rouses men from idle sleep. For further details regarding the cock in Ancient Iranian literature readers' attention may be drawn to Poure Davoud's book 'Iran-e-Bastan' and to J. J. Modi's paper on "The cock as a sacred bird in Ancient Iran".²⁶ Again there is a reference to a cock in another Pahlavi text, namely, *Bundahishn* chapter nineteen. The text is as under:—

Kharūsh pat hamistārih i dēvāu yātūkān dāt ēstāt.
Kharūsh pat hamistārih i dēvān yātūkān dāt ēstāt.
Apāk sag hamkār hēnd... Ċēgōn gūjt pat dēn ku haē
gētēy dāmān ān i pat druj zatārih apāk sarōš adyārih
*hēnd kharūsh ut sag.*²⁷

The translation of the above passage is given below.

"The Cock is created for the antagonism of the *Dēvas* and the sorcerers. He is the co-worker with the dog; as it is said in the religion that in the worldly creations both the cock and the dog, who are the helpers of *Sraosh*, are for smiting the *druj*".

20. कुक्कुटश्चाग्निना दत्तः । वनपर्व २२९. ३३

21. The Tantras: Studies on their Religion and Literature, p. 83.

22. युद्धं च प्रातस्त्यानं भोजनं सह वन्दुभिः ।

स्त्रियमापदगतां रक्षेच्चतुः शिञ्जेत कुक्कुटात् । Verse 72.

23. I am much grateful to Prof. M. F. Kanga for giving me this information and encouraging me in this connection.

24. *Vidēvdāt* (*Vendidad*) XVIII. 15; 23; 29.

25. See: Sacred Books of the East Vol. 37, p. 163.

26. Published in "Anthropological papers by J. J. Modi", 1911; pp. 104-121.

27. See: *Bundahishn* by T. D. Anklesaria, pp. 156-157.

Here in this Pahalvi text the word is *Kharūsh* (i.e. Cock) and its non-Iranian word (ideogram) is *Alka*.²⁸ A cock is the announcer of the sunrise and hence it is considered as a holy bird in Avestan religion. Parsis observe the prohibition of eating flesh of a cock.

All these references clearly indicate that a cock was widely known to the people in Ancient India. But as there are very few references to a cock in Vedic Samhitās, it is not accepted by the Brāhmaṇas as fit for the Śrauta Sacrifices. Followers of the popular religion depicted in the Atharvaveda, however, domesticated a cock and its offering was, therefore, common in the masses. The relation of a cock with the time of Sunrise is also noteworthy and it is wisely referred to by many writers. A cock is to be understood as a messenger of gods, announcer of the rising Sun, destroyer of the darkness and it rouses men to start their work.

28. See: *Frahang-E-Pahlavik*, by Prof. Junker, 1912 and 1955 Edition.

SUICIDE AS A RELIGIOUS INSTITUTION*

By

H. von STIETENCRON

It has been, and still is, a common trait in all human societies that some individuals resort to suicide as a means of terminating their present existence. But suicide as a religious institution is less usual. It has had its limited place in early forms of religion and survived in certain "primitive societies". But the religious-philosophical concepts which developed in the sphere of the great religions were not favourable to the idea of premature self-destruction. The few instances where this idea gained recognition also in the major creeds, form therefore interesting exceptions. India is one of the countries where this phenomenon existed even up to recent times, and I want to talk to you today about its historical development in this country, about the religious ideas which supported it, and about the spiritual situation, out of which it arose.

Let me first explain what I mean by 'religious institution' and distinguish between an ordinary suicide and a suicide of the special class which derives its necessity from religion. A suicide, committed by whatever method, which has no other object than to abandon this life, is an ordinary suicide. This is so, even if the victim reaches after death a higher state of existence, or even final salvation, as reward for his former merits. Take for example Godhika Thera, the disciple of Buddha, who made various attempts to win *arhantship* or spiritual perfection. Six times he reached temporary liberation (*sāmaṇīkaṃ vimuttiṃ*) and six times he fell back again from that highest state because of bodily distractions. When through constant endeavour he attained release for the 7th time, when, though still living, his soul was freed once again from all bondage, he committed suicide, so that no worldly power should once more be able to deprive him of his spiritual achievement.¹ Thus Godhika died in order to enter into *nirvāṇa*. Yet this was no religious suicide, but a suicide of the ordinary kind. He had attained the stage of an *arhant* before he put an end to his life. The suicide served no other purpose than to cast away the body with its inherent dangers.

* Lecture delivered at the Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay, on April 18th, 1967.

1. *Godhikasutta*, in *Mārasamyutta* of the *Samyuttanikāya* (SN. IV, 3, 3); *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā* I, 431f illustrating *Dhammapada* 57. *Sāraṅgappakāsini* I. 431f.

Only those cases in which suicide is considered and committed as an act which is meritorious in itself and for which a certain reward is expected, a suicide which is prescribed by religion for the very sake of this reward, only such a suicide belongs to the category we are talking of, the suicide as religious institution. The practice of wilful self-immolation of a faithful wife or *satī* after the death of her husband belongs to this type of suicide, because it is by this death alone that the wife will reach *patiloka*, the world where her deceased husband is waiting for her. I will not touch on this ancient Indian custom in the present paper, because it is too well known to deserve further explanation. The religious suicide I am going to speak about is not restricted to women or to any particular group of the society, but it is open to all who desire to obtain heavenly rewards.

In order to avoid a misunderstanding, it may be useful to state, what the word suicide stands for. It is derived from latin *suicida* if it means the agent, and from *suicidium*, if it means the act of self-destruction. Its determinating factor is the intention of the agent: if he wilfully brings about his own death, he commits suicide, irrespective of the method he chooses for this purpose, or of the motive underlying his self-destructive action.

In India the most common words used in this connection were *ātmahatyā*, *āmatyāga*, *tanutyāga* and *dehatyāga* with their respective verbal forms (*ātmānam ghātayed yas tu....*) or expressions stating the method of killing, as for instance *anaśana*=fasting, *agni-praveśa*=entering into fire, *jalapraveśa*=entering into water, *bhṛgu-prapatana*=falling from a precipice, etc. Out of these expressions some acquired a differentiated meaning from the early centuries of the Christian era onwards. *Ātmahatyā* and *āmatyāga*, the original words for suicide, continued to be used, when suicide was disapproved of, when it was considered as a sin. But *tanutyāga* and *dehatyāga*, two euphemistic words meaning to abandon the body, which could be applied to natural death also, gradually came to be used in connection with suicide only when the writer approved of it, when it was considered meritorious, when no sin was thought to be involved.

Some Indian scholars feel that *ātmahatyā* denotes a suicide out of distress, committed by a person who is *alabdhakāma*, whereas *dehatyāga* referred to *labdhakāma*-persons, i.e. those who had everything they wanted and therefore could only have a spiritual reason for ending their lives. But this distinction is not correct, as can be seen from numerous passages which speak of *dehatyāga* in connection with persons in utter distress because of illness, old age, or any other major calamity. It later became a convention

that, in order to indicate his sympathy with the person who prematurely ended his life, an author would use such words as *tanutyāga* or *dehatyāga* rather than *ātmahatyā* or *ātmatyāga*. When translating Sanskrit passages into English, I have used the word suicide only for *ātmahatyā* and *ātmatyāga*, using paraphrases like 'to leave the body', or 'to give up the body' and the like, for the other expressions, in order to convey the distinction made in the original.

After these introductory remarks, let us cast a quick glance at the development of that branch of Indian religiosity, which finally produced the 'institution of religious suicide' as one of its darker blossoms.

We may go back to the end of the Brāhmaṇa period, when the magic spell of sacrifice gradually lost its overwhelming power over the mind of people in ancient India. Not that the interest in ritual faded away completely: a large ritualistic literature was still to come, the meaning of all the rules of sacrifice would fascinate the minds of the *Pūrvamīmāṃsakas* and the ritualistic school of Vedic interpretation would continue to be powerful down to Śāyaṇācārya in the 14th cent. A.D. But the large masses of the people did break away from the predominant rule of sacrifice, which had been raised by the Brāhmaṇas even above the gods. New ideas broke in, producing the Upaniṣadic philosophy and *Sāṃkhya* and *Yoga* as first reactions against the dry arguments of ritualism. Jainism and Buddhism arose and tried to open new ways. But all of these were too difficult for the ordinary man. The religious movement which answered to his needs, sprang from another stratum of Indian spiritual background. It raised a number of sectarian deities to important positions, it offered personal relationship between man and god, and the path of *bhakti* or devotional love as a means for attaining *mokṣa*. This movement attracted so many people, it soon became so powerful, that orthodox Brāhmaṇism had to give up its originally adverse attitude. Though very reluctantly, the new approach was accepted as a possible way of offering worship to the Highest: a way for the uneducated masses which, of course, was far inferior to the true Vedic religion; a way which could offer a simple emotional approach to the Supreme for people of limited understanding.

Now the knowledge of the *veda*, which had been restricted to the higher classes, was no longer an absolute condition for attaining to eternal bliss. No caste barriers stood between god and his devotees. Everybody could approach the deity with devotion. Yet equal blessings for all could not be achieved. It was according to merit or according to devotion that god bestowed his grace upon men, and true *bhakti* leading to *mokṣa* was nearly as difficult

to attain, as formerly *brahmajñāna* had been. It requested absolutely wholehearted devotion and constant centering of all one's thoughts in the Supreme. This was more than the ordinary man could stand up to. He was allowed to offer his limited devotion to the god and to receive comfort and smaller boons in return. But *mokṣa*, the attainment of the Absolute, the ultimate liberation from the bondage of worldly existence remained, even after the removal of the cast barrier, a goal to be reached only by the few.

Gradually, traditional forms crept into the devotional popular religion. Sacrifice became complicated again. The bigger the sacrifice, the greater the merit. But a sacrifice was expensive. How should the poor man procure enough food for the many *brāhmins* who had to be engaged in the ritual of sacrifice? For him the sacrificial offering itself (mostly an animal) was not easy to procure, not to speak of the gifts to the *Brāhmaṇas* without which the god would not be pleased. Thus, once again, the reward of religion became difficult to obtain for the poor.

It was in this situation that a new possibility arose, a possibility to obtain various gifts and even *mokṣa*, and which was especially meant for the poor². This new and highly rewarding method, involving little or no money, was *tīrthayātrā*: a pilgrimage to holy places, where by purifying baths all sins would gradually be washed away. The old Vedic conception of the purifying, sin-removing quality of holy waters³ provided the theological background for this new ideal of *tīrthayātrā*, which began to be an important factor in popular life in the early centuries of the Christian era and continued up to modern times. The large majority of people to set out on such a pilgrimage had reached the autumn of their lives. They had given up the state of a householder and set out as *sannyāsins* to acquire peace of soul.

It is a characteristic result of the great appeal which *tīrthayātrā* carried for the people, that the third of the four stages of life, the *vānaprasthāśrama*, was now omitted. Instead of retiring to the forest to live the life of an anchorite, a man would at once start on pilgrimage, thus entering the stage of *sannyāsin* immediately after that of *gṛhastha*. The *vānaprastha* stage came completely out of usage and later writers on *dharma* had to account for this fact by including *vānaprastha* in their *kalivarjya*-lists, saying that in Kaliyuga one should leave aside the hermit stage of life.⁴ This brought about an important change on the scene of sacred places, and on the roads leading to them.

2. MBh. 3.80, 35-40; Mp. 112.12-15; PdP. I.11.14-17.

3. RV. X, 9.8; I, 23, 22.

4. *Bṛhannāradiya Purāṇa* 22, 16; *Nār P. pūrvārdha* 24.14; *Ādi Purāṇa* as quoted in Kane III, p. 928, n. 1798.

Formerly, too, *sannyāsins* had gone on pilgrimage. Completely unattached to worldly affairs, they too had directed their steps towards holy places. They were old and weak. In many years of *vānaprastha* life they had purified their minds and their hearts. Then they went to die at a holy place, preferably near one of the sacred rivers where their bodies could be buried at a pure spot or thrown into the waters to be purified and carried away.⁵

Thus some of the *tīrthas* had already become famous as specially purifying places, able to remove all sins at the time of death, when the new ideal of *tīrthayātrā* came into vogue. But now the *sannyāsins* were less old. They had skipped over the period of spiritual purification in the forest. Coming directly from their *grhastha* life, how could they sit at a place like Prayāga or Benares and wait for their deaths to come, when it was likely that many more years of life lay ahead of them?

On the other hand, the chances offered to them at these places were tempting enough. "Nobody who dies in Benares", it is said in the KP., "goes to hell, even if he was guilty of sins, but supported by the Lord himself they all proceed to the highest path."⁶ "A person, even though his mind be addicted to pleasures of sense and though he may have given up devotion to *dharma*, if he dies in this place (Kāśī), he does not again enter upon the path of *saṃsāra*." This is a statement from the MP.,⁷ and the same text goes even so far as to say that "for planets, lunar mansions and stars there is the danger of falling from the sky in course of time, but there is no fall for those who die in Avimukta" (i.e. Benares).

*graha-nakṣatra-tārāṇāṃ kālena patanād bhayam/
avimukte mṛtāṇāṃ tu patanaṃ naiva vidyate//⁸*

Numerous similar passages can be quoted. The *Tīrthamāhātmyas* abound in them, and there is hardly any important *tīrtha* whose praise would not include that *mokṣa*-giving quality at the time of death.

In view of this firm promise of final release from the bondage of *saṃsāra* the *tīrthayātrin* finds himself in a difficult position. He cannot remain at the *tīrtha* for many years, because people would not be willing to feed him over an excessive period while always

5. Ascetics were not cremated. Only the Kuṇḍīka-Ascetics form an exception to this rule, vide Kane IV, p. 229f.

6. KP. I.31, 34 = PdP. I.33.21
nāvimukte mṛtaḥ kaścin narakam yāti kilbiṣi /
īśvarānugrhitā hi sarve yānti parām gatim /

7. MP. 180, 71b-72a
viśayāsaktacitto 'pi tyaktadharमारतिर narah /
iha kṣetre mṛtaḥ so 'pi saṃsāram na punarvīśet / /

8. MP. 185.61; SkP. Kāśīkhaṇḍa 64.96 reads kālena patanaṃ dhruvam /

fresh groups of pilgrims are swarming in. But on the other hand, is it safe to leave the sacred place since nobody knows the hour of his death? By some accident it might occur in the forest or on the road before reaching the next *tīrtha*. Then salvation, which was so near in reach, is lost again. Is it not better, therefore, to put an end to one's own life and face death right here, where *mokṣa* is awaiting the soul of every man, the righteous one and the sinner alike? At this point one can feel how a new idea is taking shape, an idea which was hatched in the morbid atmosphere of the *tīrthas*. It is the forming stage of a new concept, the minds of some *tīrthayātrins* being pregnant with the forthcoming ideal of religious suicide. But at this same point there arises a serious doubt. It was true that release after death had been promised also to the guilty man. But this promise referred to sins committed before the time of death. Would it be valid also, if death itself was a sinful one? What, if it did not include this case? If instead of the expected attainment of *mokṣa* the suicide had to face that very different and terrible reality of which the *Parāśara-Smṛti* warned him, saying that a man or a woman hanging himself or herself out of pride or rage or affliction or fear would sink into blind darkness filled with pus and blood and remain trapped in hell for 60,000 years?⁹

The question was difficult to solve and, as the possible prospect of torment in hell shows, it was a highly dangerous one, too. Dharmaśāstra texts were not quite unanimous about this issue. Most passages condemned suicide as a mortal sin, as for instance VāsDhŚ. 23, 14-16 which denies any death rites to him who kills himself by whatever means he chooses to use, and prescribes certain penances if somebody should disregard this rule and perform the last rites out of affection.¹⁰ Even the mere thought of suicide is to be attoned for by *prāyaścitta*.¹¹ The ViSmṛ 22.56 treats persons committing suicide in the same way as degraded ones (*patita*): both cannot receive the purifying water.¹² Manu also says that no ablutions are to be offered to the *ātmatyāgin*.¹³ And Yama even thinks that if a man succeeds in killing himself, his body should be smeared

9. Parāśara IV, 1-2

ātmanād atikrodhāt snehāt vā yadi vā bhayāt /
udbadhniyāt strī pumān vā gatiḥ eṣā vidhiyate //

pūyaṣaṇitasampūrṇe andhe tamasi majjati /
ṣaṣṭim varṣasahasrāṇi narakaṃ pratipadyate //

10. ya ātmatyāgy abhiśasto bhavati sapindānāṃ pretakarmacchedaḥ / /
kāṣṭha-jala-loṣṭa-pāśāna-śastra-viṣa-rajjubhīr ya ātmānam
avasādayati sa ātmahā bhavati / /

ya ātmatyāginah kuryāt snehāt pretakriyāṃ dvijah /
sa taptakrechrasahitam carec candrāyaṇavratam // iti

11. VāsDhŚ. 23.18.

12. ātmatyāginah patitās ca na śaucodakabhājah /

13. Manu V, 89

ātmatyāgināṃ caiva nirvartetodakakriyā /

with impure things (*amedhyena leptavyo*), and if it was only an attempt at suicide, he should be fined for it, and his sons and his friends should be fined as well.¹⁴ For as it is stated in ŚBr. and later quoted by Medhātithi to justify the above prescription of Manu, one ought not to yield to one's own desire and pass away before having lived to the full extent of one's life.¹⁵

But Manu and the other Smṛtis were not equally strict in all cases of suicide. They admit of certain exceptions to the rule. According to Manu, for instance, a man who has committed a *mahā-pātaka*, i.e. a sin which is so great that no other penance can be adequate, is allowed to atone for it by death. Thus, if he is guilty of *brāhmaṇa*-murder he may seek his death in battle or throw himself thrice headlong into fire.¹⁶ The drinker of spirituous liquor has to expiate for his sin by taking boiling *surā* or boiling *ghee* or cows urine etc. and by dying thereby.¹⁷ And similarly, a penance leading to death was prescribed for violation of the *guru's* bed, for theft of a *brāhmaṇa's* gold etc.¹⁸

Another author on *dharma*, Atri, states some more exceptions regarding the rule that no ablutions are to be given. He says that if a man commits suicide by throwing himself into a precipice or into fire or water or by fasting because he is very old and cannot observe the rules of bodily purification, or because he is so ill that medical skill cannot help him, then purification rites may be performed and *śrāddha* may be offered for him.¹⁹ And Aparārka adds some more details from other *smṛtikāras* which were important as sources for a later development. Quoting from Brahmagarbhā he says that a person who, tormented by a great disease, is unable to live, does not incur any sin by resorting to one of the means of self-destruction.²⁰ From Vivasvān he adduces a passage which permits

14. Yama (Bis Smṛtiyān, ed. by Śrī Rāma Sarmā Acārya, Bareilly 1966, Vol. 1 p. 337) 20-21: *ātmānam ghātayed yas tu rajjiv-ādibhir upakramaiḥ / mṛto 'medhyena leptavyo jīvato dvīsatam damaḥ / /*

dapdyās tatputramitrāṇi pratyekaṁ paṇikaṁ damam /
15. ŚBr. X.2.6.7: *...tasmād u ha na purāyusaḥ svakāmi preyād....*

16. Manu XI, 73; see also Yāj. III, 248, MBh. XII, 35.4.

17. Manu XI, 91-92; see also Yāj. III, 253; Baudh. DhS. II, 1.1.18; ĀpDhS. I, 9.25.3; GautDhS. 23, 1; VāsDhS. 20.22; MBh. XII, 35, 16 and 165.47f; W. Gampert—Die Sühnezeremonien in der altindischen Rechtsliteratur, Prag, 1939 p. 106.

18. Manu XI, 104-105; ĀpDhS. I; 9.25.1.110.28.15; GautDhS. 23, 10f; Yāj. 3, 259; Manu XI, 101; VāsDhS. 20.41; MBh. XII, 35, 17.

19. Atri 214-215
vrddhaḥ śaucasmṛter luptaḥ pratyākhyātābhīṣakkriyāḥ /
ātmānam ghātayed yas tu bhr̥gv-agny-anaśanāmbubhūḥ / /
tasya trirātram āsaucam dvitiye tv asthisāncayam /
tritiye tūdakam kṛtvā caturthe śrāddham ācāret / /

20. Aparārka, comm. on Yājñavalkya (Anandāśrama Ed. p. 536):
yo jīvitum na śaknoti mahāvryādhy-upapīditāḥ /
so 'gny-udaka-mahāyātram kurvan nāmutra dūsyati / /
ibid. p. 880 reads: yo'nusthātum na śaknoti...so gñim vāri mahāyātram...

suicide also, if a man has accomplished his tasks in life and has no desire left for the pleasures of any of his senses. To die at a *tīrtha* is better for him than *tapas*.²¹ For, as Gārgya says, one should not desire to live vainly.²²

This was not a late interpretation in favour of *tīrthayātrins*, but a rival theory within the *dharmaśāstra* tradition. That people lived up to it as early as the end of the 4th century B.C. is shown by the account of the Indian sage Kalanos who accompanied Alexander the Great on his way back from Taxila and who burnt himself alive on a funeral pyre at Pasargadai (or Susa), when, being 73 years old, he was afflicted with a malady.²³

At his time the supporting idea behind such a suicide was that a man who has gained *brahma*-knowledge, a man who has understood the unreal nature of his body and of life itself on the one hand, and the undestructibility of his *ātman* on the other, such a man was beyond the earthly bondages and could cast them away like an old garment. But at the time when *tīrthayātrā* for the masses became the new ideal, it was not the saintly ascetic, not the Yogin, not the man with *brahma*-knowledge for whom suicide at *tīrthas* was essential. It was the ordinary man, the worldly man, the sinner, the man without any spiritual achievements, who wanted to gain *mokṣa* quickly without much effort. For him the possibility of suicide became essential as a means for obtaining *mokṣa*, whereas in the quoted *smṛti*-texts it had been exceptionally approved of only in case of utter despair, and its result was nothing but the termination of the present misery.

The necessity to allow suicide at sacred places for the sake of salvation became overwhelmingly strong. It overran all warnings of the *dharmaśāstra*-texts. The door leading out of the ban against suicide, which the *dharmaśāstra* writers themselves had pointed to by allowing a few exceptions, was flung wide open now.

"Do not give up your wish to die at Prayāga because Veda or general opinion speak against it", is the advice of the Mbh.

21. *ibid.* p. 536

sarvendriyaviraktasya vṛddhasya kṛtakarmaṇaḥ /
vyādhitasyecchayā tīrthe maraṇaṁ tapaso'dhikam / /

22. *ibid.* p. 880

vyādhibhir luptaceṣṭānāṁ grhasthānāṁ vidhīyate /
mahāprasthānagamaṇaṁ jvalanāmbupraveśanam / /
bhṛguprapatanaṁ caiva vṛthā necchet tu jīvītum / /

23. Strabo, Geography book XV, 68, (in McCrindle: Ancient India as described in classical literature, Westminster 1901, p. 73f.

na vedavacanāt tāta na lokavacanād api |
matir utkramaṇīyā te prayāgamaraṇaṃ prati²⁴ ||

Vedavacanāt refers to passages such as for instance Vāj. S. 40.3 which says that there are worlds belonging to the *Asuras*, shrouded with blinding darkness, to which those who commit suicide proceed after death.²⁵ And *lokavacanāt* may mean the prevalent attitude of all the *smṛtis*. Both were discarded in favour of new hopes.

"Whoever dies in the Gaṅgā, whether wilfully or unintentionally, goes after death to heaven and does not see hell," says the KP. I. 37.39 = PdP. I. 44.4. And the same text, followed by PdP. and NārP. equals the result of giving up one's life at the confluence of Gaṅgā and Yamunā to the goal of a Yogin who has given up all worldly attachments.²⁶

"A man who, knowingly or unknowingly, wilfully or unintentionally dies in the Ganges, secures on death heaven and *mokṣa*".²⁷ "He who abandons his life in this *tīrtha* (=Kāśī) in some way or other does not incur the sin of suicide but secures his desired objects".²⁸ "He who enters Gaṅgā and Yamunā (at the confluence) and gives up his life, does obtain his desired objects. There is no sin of suicide."²⁹ These passages taken from PdP. and SkP. can easily be increased by a number of others. For, as already stated, all the major *tīrthas*, not only at the Gaṅgā and Yamunā but all over India, claimed that they were able to procure *mokṣa* or heavenly pleasures for those who intended to give up their lives there. Final emancipation was promised in many cases as reward for suicide. But if other objects were desired, they, too, could be obtained, such as enjoyment of all plea-

24. MBh. III, 83, 78 (For variants in MBh. see Poona crit. Ed.)

Nār P., utara, 63, 131b-132a: caiva for tāta; hi for te.

PdP. I.39.76 reads: na devavacanāt

AP. 111.8 reads: vipra for tāta; matir utkramaṇīyānte prayāge maraṇaṃ prati /

The meaning is changed in some texts which read prayāga-gamaṇaṃ prati. See MP. 106.22; PdP. I.43.22; KP. I.37.14. Similar meaning also in PdP. I.33.64. For discussion see K. Chaṭṭopādhyāya, JUPHS. vol. X, 1, p. 67, n. 1.

25. asuryā nāma te lokā andhena tamasāvṛtāḥ /
tāms te pretyābhigacchanti ye ke cātmahano janāḥ / /

26. KP. I.37.16 = PdP. I.43.24
NārP. utara, 43.97 = PdP. V. 60.56.

27. PdP. V.60.55

Jñānato 'jñānato vāpi kāmato 'kāmato 'pi vā /
gaṅgāyām ca mṛto martyaḥ svargaṃ mokṣaṃ ca vindati / /
Also Nār P., utara 63, 153b-154a:

akāmo vā sakāmo vā gaṅgāyām yo vipadyate / /
śakrasya labhate svargaṃ narakam na ca paśyati /

28. SkP. Kāśīkhaṇḍa, 22.76

yathā kathamecit tīrthe'smin prānatyāgaṃ karoti yaḥ /
tasyātmaghātadoṣo na prāpṇuyād ipsitān api / /
(the context favours suicide).

29. Quoted as from PdP. in the Tirthenduśekhara of Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa, p. 23. See K. Chaṭṭopādhyāya, loc. cit. p. 72:
gaṅgāyamunām āśādy yas tu prāṇaṃ parityajet /
ipsitān labhate kāmān naiva doṣo svaghātajah / /

tures of heaven for many thousand years and afterwards rebirth on earth as a mighty king or as a very rich man. In some cases the name of the *tirtha* itself contained already a reference to the heavenly reward, and the pilgrim was invited to choose the place of his self-imposed death according to his desires. Urvaśīramaya (Urvaśīpulina), a *tirtha* near Jhuṣi, just outside the ancient capital Pratiṣṭhāna, was such a place. Here, in the former pleasure-garden of the royal palace, Purūravas and Urvaśī were supposed to have experienced the joys of love. Whoever committed suicide in this place would go to heaven and see Urvaśī every day for 66,000 years, and after being reborn on earth he would get 100 girls like Urvaśī.³⁰

How do these beneficial effects come about? Why is a death in or near a holy place so very rewarding that suicide had to be included into religion as a legitimate means of attaining heavenly bliss? The answer is that it is the grace of the presiding deity,—and that is mostly, but not always, either Viṣṇu or Śiva,—which produces these overwhelmingly rich results. But the texts generally take it for granted that the Lord will rescue his devotees, and only in rare cases it is explained how *mokṣa* is brought about and what actually happens at the moment of death. In the MP. there is a passage, saying that those who go into fire according to the rules in Avimukta (at Benares) enter doubtless into the mouth of Śiva, and those determined devotees of Śiva who die by fasting, do not return (to earth) again, even after billions of *kalpas*.³¹ According to this statement, the man who commits suicide enters into Śiva and remains united with him. A different explanation is given in MP. 182, 22-24. It says: "The memory of human beings certainly fails when at the time of death the life is cut off and they are being pushed on (to another body) by (their) vital breaths. But in Avimukta, the Lord (Śiva) himself gives a whisper into the ears of his devotees at the time of death, while they are (about to be) pushed on (to another body) by their accumulated acts (*karma*). The man who gives up his body at Maṇikarṇī will go the desired path. Pushed on by the Lord he goes (that path) which (otherwise) is difficult to reach by those who have not realised *ātman*."³² Again another

30. MP. 106, 34-37

31. MP. 183, 77-78

agnipraveśam ye kuryur avimukte vidhānataḥ /
praviśanti mukhaṃ te me niḥsandigdham varāṇane //
kurvanty-anaśanam ye tu madbhaktāḥ kṛtāniscayān
na teṣāṃ punarāvṛttiḥ kalpakotiśatair api //

32. MP. 182, 22b-25a

antakāle manuṣyānām chidyamāneṣu marmasu //
vāyunā preryamānānām smṛtir naivopajāyate //
avimukte hy antakāle bhaktānām īśvaraḥ svayam /
karmabhiḥ preryamānānām karnajāpam prayacchati /
maṇikarṇyāṃ tya'jen deham gatiṃ iṣṭāṃ vrajen narah /
īśvaraprerito yāti duṣprāpām akṛtātmabhiḥ //

passage, occurring in SkP., gives more information about that whisper by which the Lord rescues his devotees from the bonds of *samsāra*. "It is by *brahma*-knowledge alone and by nothing else that men who die are released, or (by dying) in the region of *Pra-yāga* which has the nature of *brahma*-knowledge. To those lucky ones whose end occurs in *Kāśī*, I, (Śiva) teach exactly that rescuing *brahma*-knowledge at the very end (of their lives). In that same moment they are released."³³

Taking these passages together, we get the following picture. A man can be saved by *brahma*-knowledge only. But unless he has purified his mind completely, and thoroughly realised the identity of *ātman* and *brahman*, this knowledge will fail at the crucial moment of death. Therefore, the majority of people forget in the agony of death whatever little knowledge they had acquired, and are pushed on to other lives. So would be also those devotees of Śiva who have little or no higher knowledge. But if they die at the *Maṇikarnikā* pool in Benares, the Lord himself saves them by whispering higher knowledge into their ears at the moment of death. That higher knowledge has been conceived of as being given in the form of a simple *mantra*, called *tāraka* or rescuing *mantra*. It has been subject of theological speculation which words were contained in the *tāraka-mantra*, but no agreement could be reached on this point. Some said that the *mantra* consisted only in the syllable *om* because *om*, according to the *Taitt. U.*³⁴ and to the *Gītā*³⁵ was the symbol of *brahman* (*om ity ekākṣaram brahma*). But others who were convinced of the supremacy of Viṣṇu held that the *mantra* was *śrī-rāma-rāma-rāma* and that Śiva had learnt it from Viṣṇu.³⁶

The rescuing help of the Lord was the hope of those *tīrthayātrins*, who wilfully put an end to their lives. As I have said before, not all of them were very old, because instead of retiring into the forest as *vānaprastha* they had chosen the pilgrimage at a relatively early stage. And many of them were still healthy and strong. Yet only the old, the decrepid, the incurably ill people had been exceptionally allowed by the *smṛtis* to take their lives. But when life was a burden, what merit was there in giving it up? Why should the god be pleased and grant *mokṣa*, if the man was only too glad to escape from the pains and hardships of life-in-illness by killing himself? Was there not more merit in giving up one's body

33. SkP. Kāśikhaṇḍa 32, 115-116
brahmajñānena mucyante nānyathā jantavaḥ kvacit /
brahmajñānamaye kṣetre prayāge vā tanutyajah //
brahmajñānam tad evāhaṁ kāśīsamsthītibhāginam /
dīśāmi tārakam prānte mucyante te tu tatksanāt //

34. *Taitt. U.* I.1.8; *om iti brahma*

35. *Gītā* 8.13: *om ity ekākṣaram brahma*

36. *Tristhalisetu* of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa (Ānandāśrama Ed. p. 291) cites two passages from the *Rāmāṭāpanīya* and from *PdP.* to this effect.

while it was healthy and while all the senses were still sensitive? Again the idea of sacrifice comes in. It is by the sacrifice of one's own body that heaven is attained. But the sacrificial gift, the body, should have no defects. Therefore the MP., PdP. and KP. say: "the man who, suffering from no disease, having no deficiency regarding his limbs and being in full possession of his five senses, accomplishes suicide in cowdung fire between Gaṅgā and Yamunā, enjoys himself in heaven as many thousands of years as there are pores on his body."³⁷

Several methods of religious suicide were developed and practised. Death by exhaustion, by fasting, by falling into an abyss, by burning oneself, by drowning oneself, and by cutting one's limbs were the most common ones.

Death by exhaustion is famous as *mahāpatha* or *mahāprasthā-nayātrā* and well-known through the *mahāprasthānikaparva* of the MBh. Whoever decided on this way of ending his life would set out on a last pilgrimage towards the Himālayas and proceed steadily in this direction until, completely exhausted, he would break down somewhere on the way, never to get up again. According to the MBh. the five Pāṇḍavas and Draupadī, accompanied by one faithful dog, set out on this last journey. It was Draupadī who was the first to break down and Bhīma was the last, while the righteous Yudhiṣṭhira proceeded on and was finally carried to heaven in Indra's chariot.³⁸

Suicide by fasting unto death is a method which remained in practice up to the present day and I do not have to comment on it.

Another method, namely to throw oneself into an abyss, was possible in the Himālayas and in other mountain areas. The peaks of Amarakaṇṭaka, near the source of the Narmadā river, are especially eulogised in this connection.³⁹ In Allahabad it was the famous undecaying *vaṭa*-tree which offered an opportunity for the same purpose.⁴⁰

Death in fire had various degrees of difficulty. There was the ordinary wooden funeral pyre with quickly consuming flames. (It

37. MP. 107, 9-10; PdP. I.44, 9-10; KP. I.38, 3-4; Nār P. uttara 63.156b-158a
Gaṅgāyamunayor madhye kārṣāgnīm yas tu sādhayet /
ahināṅgo hy arogaś ca pañcendriyasamanvitaḥ //
yāvanti lomakūpāṇi tasya gātreṣu dehināḥ /
tāvad varṣasahasrāṇi svargaloke mahīyate //

Variants:

KP. I.38, 3a: karṣāgnīm ca sādhayet

4a: bhūmipa for dehināḥ

PdP. I.44.9: pañcāgnīm yas tu sādhayet

Nār P. utt. 63, 156b: karṣāgnīm tu dhārayet

157b; yāvanti lomakūpāṇi tasya gātre tu dhimataḥ.

38. MBh. XVII, 2nd adhyāya

39. MP. 186, 34-35

40. See p. 21, with note 57 and 58.

was not considered very meritorious). There was the slow-burning fire of cowdung cakes which would provide for a slow and painful death.⁴¹ And there was the possibility to die by hanging head downwards over a fire and drinking its flames, for which death the Purāṇas promise as reward a stay in heaven for 100,000 years and afterwards a rebirth as *agnihotrin*.⁴²

Death by water seems to have been the most frequently adopted method of religious suicide because while effecting death it involved drinking the holy waters of sacred rivers. Whether a man chose to hang head downwards into water⁴³ or whether he jumped into deep water⁴⁴ to disappear in the floods, the effect was more or less the same. But at some places there was a possibility of showing one's firm decision to die by a more painful, more anguishing, more meritorious death in water. Such opportunity was given at the *gaṅgā-sāgarasamgama* and other similar places, where alligators lived. There a man, hoping to attain *mokṣa*, would walk into the water, enumerate his sins and pray until the alligators came to devour him.⁴⁵

The last method to enumerate here is that of cutting. There again was room for many variations. Cutting one's throat at the confluence of Gaṅgā and Yamunā was certainly meritorious.⁴⁶ But higher merit was attained by cutting off pieces of one's own flesh and offering them as food to birds while bleeding to death. 100,000 years of happiness in *somaloka* are the reward for this kind of death and afterwards one is reborn as a righteous king.⁴⁷

These methods as well as some others which are less common as for instance, to bury oneself in snow, are listed in different Purāṇas, and the *Ain-i-Akbari*⁴⁸ also mentions some of them. The tendency is that the more painful the death and the more courage

41. See note 37; also *Ain-i-Akbari* (Ayeen Akbery) transl. by F. Gladwin, ed. by J. Mukhopadhyaya, Calcutta 1897, vol. II, part III, p. 802

42. MP. 107, 15-16a; PdP. I.44. 15-16a; KP. I.38.9
adhaḥśiras tu yo jvālām ūrdhva-pādāḥ piben naraḥ /
śatavarṣasahasrāṇi svargaloke mahīyate / /
paribhṛāṣṭas tu rājendra so 'gnihotri bhaven naraḥ /
KP. reads dhārām for jvālām and tasmād bhṛāṣṭas tu for paribhṛāṣṭas tu.

43. KP. I. 38.9 Compare note 42, variant.

44. agādhatoyarāśim. Quoted from Adipurāṇa in Aparārka's commentary on Yājñavalkya (Anandāśrama Ed. vol. II, p. 877).

45. *Ain-i-Akbari* (as note 41) Vol. II, part III, p. 802.

46. *ibidem*.

47. MP. 107, 17-18; PdP. I.44. 27-28; KP. I.38.11-12
yaḥ svadeham tu kartitvā śakunibhyaḥ prayacchati /
vihagair upabhuktasya śṛṇu tasyāpi yatphalam / /
śatam varṣasahasrāṇāṃ somaloke mahīyate /
tasmād api paribhṛāṣṭo rājā bhavati dhārmikāḥ / /
PdP. I.44. 27a reads: yas tu deham vikartitvā
PdP. I.44. 28b reads: tataḥ svargāt paribhṛāṣṭo
KP. I.38, 11a reads: yaḥ śarīram vikartitvā
KP. I.38, 11b reads: vihaṅgair upabhuktasya
KP. I.38, 12b reads: tatas tasmāt paribhṛāṣṭo.

48. See note 41.

and determination is needed to face it, the greater is the merit and consequently also the reward in heaven. The same tendency to make wilful death a torture in order to attain higher merit, can be observed among the Jainas also. Self-imposed death by fasting, called *sallekhanā*, has been propagated already in Samantabhadra's *Ratnakaraṇḍaśrāvaka-cāra*.⁴⁹ He recommends it in the case of calamities, famine, old age and incurable disease. The numerous epitaphs cut into the rock at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa show that men and women resorted to it in order to accumulate merit.⁵⁰ And the *kālandri* inscription records the suicide by fasting of a whole Jain congregation in 1331 A.D.⁵¹

Alberuni, referring to the practice of religious suicide, wrote about 1030 A.D. that it was resorted to by those "who are tired of their life, who are distressed over some incurable disease of their body, some irremovable bodily defect, or old age and infirmity. This, however, no man of distinction does, but only Vaiśyas and Śūdras.... Burning oneself is forbidden to Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas by a special law. Therefore these, if they want to kill themselves, do so at the time of an eclipse in some other manner, or they hire somebody to drown them in the the Ganges, keeping them under water till they are dead."⁵²

It is obvious from this passage, that Alberuni obtained his information from a Brāhmaṇa of orthodox inclination. He could not deny the existence of suicide but wanted to restrict it to Vaiśyas and Śūdras and, following the *dharmaśāstra*-texts, only to those among them, who for various reasons were suffering from serious bodily defects. "This, however, no man of distinction does." It is the orthodox Brāhmaṇa whom we hear saying this. He firmly upholds the orthodox view that *tīrthayātrā*, and with it the religious suicide, is inferior both to *brahmayānāna* and to sacrifice. It is a religion for the poor and for the miserable: no man of distinction does it!

But while Brāhmaṇas are still proudly upholding this contention, time and general practice have left them far behind. Already in the 6th century A.D., Kumāragupta III of Magadha had sought release at Prayāga, and following the above-mentioned prescription of the KP.,⁵³ he had met with a very meritorious death in the slow

49. Svāmi-Samantabhadra-cārya-racita Śrīratnakaraṇḍaśrāvaka-cāra, Delhi 1951, V. 122:

upasarge durbhikṣe jarasi rujāyām ca niḥpratīkāre /
dharmāya tanuvimocanam āhuh sallekhanām āryāḥ / /

Also quoted as from the Ratnakaraṇḍa, but without statement of verse number or chapter, in Indian Antiquary II, p. 322, "Jain Inscriptions at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa."

50. Indian Antiquary, II, p. 323f.

51. EI. vol. XIX, Appendix p. 98, Nr. 691; Kane II, p. 928 giving wrongly EI. vol. XX.

52. Alberuni's India, transl. Sachau, Vol. II, p. 170.

53. See note 37.

burning fire of cow-dung cakes. This is recorded in lines 7 and 8 of the Ahisad stone inscription of Ādityasena which state that "following the vow of heroism and truth he went to Prayāga (while still) in wealth, and honoured with flowers he plunged into cow-dung fire as if into water."⁵⁴ This heroic self-destruction added to Kumāragupta's fame. It was not at all disrespected, as is shown also by Kālidāsa's well-known poetic description of king Aja's death, who, having installed his son on the throne of his kingdom, starved himself to death at the confluence of Ganges and Sarayu and thereby attained heaven immediately.⁵⁵ The prologue of the *Mṛcchakaṭika* provides another example in classical literature when it states that king Śūdraka entered fire.⁵⁶

And even in Alberuni's own time, religious suicide had by no means ceased to be practised by important personalities. King Dhaṅga Chandella died by *jalapraveśa* in 1000 or 1001 A.D., when he entered the conjoint waters of Gaṅgā and Yamunā, meditating in his heart on Rudra and muttering his name.^{56a} In 1040 A.D., only about 10 years after Alberuni's statement, king Gāṅgeyadeva obtained release, as the inscription puts it, together with 100 wives at the banyan tree at Prayāga,⁵⁷ probably exemplifying thereby the *bhygu-patana* method, for which this famous tree offered a well-known substitute. People would sit on its branches until tired or exhausted by fasting they fell down and obtained release at the foot of that holy undecaying tree. In the *Ādipurāṇa* as quoted by Aparārka, this kind of death is included in the list of religious suicides which involve no sin but lead to higher worlds.⁵⁸

54. Fleet, CII, vol. III, Gupta Inscriptions Nr. 42:

Śaurya-satya-vratadharo yaḥ prayāgagato dhane /
ambhasiva kariṣāgnau magnah sa(h) puspapūjitah / /

Fleet was not sure whether this meant suicide or funeral. He did not seem to know the Purāṇic prescriptions as given in note 37. See also K. Chaṭṭopādhyāya, loc. cit., p. 74.

55. Raghuvamśa VIII, 94.

56. *Mṛcchakaṭika* I, 4.

56a. El. I p. 146, verse 55; The date of the Inscription is 1001/2 A.D., written probably not long after Dhaṅga's death.

57. *prāpte prayāgavaṭamūlaniveśabandhau*

sārdham śatena gṛhṇibhir amutra muktim / /

Jabalpur plates of Jayasīṃha = El. vol. XXI, p. 94 and of Yaśahkarna = El. vol. II, p. 4; Kairā plates of Yaśahkarna = El. vol. XII, p. 211; Kumbhi plates of Vijayasīṃha = JASB, vol. VIII, p. 481 and vol. XXXI, p. 116. Quoted in K. Chaṭṭopādhyāya, loc. cit., p. 74f.

58. Aparārka, commentary on Yājñavalkya (Ānandāśrama ed. vol. II, p. 877):

prayāgavaṭaśākhāyām dehatyāgam karoti vā /
svayam dehavināśasya kāle prāpte mahāmatih / /
uttamān prāpnuyāt lokān nātmaghātī bhavet kvacit /
mahāpāpākṣayāt svarge divyān bhogān samaśnute / /

In the case of Gāṅgeyadeva it is clear that the method of suicide was not hanging, as his death occurred at the foot (mūla) of the tree. Possibilities are therefore falling, fasting or cutting, the method being less important than the place. Compare also NārP. Uttarārḍha, 63, 139b-140a:

Vaṭamūlam samāsādyā yastu prāṇān parityajet /
Sarvalokān atikramya rudralokam sa gacchati / /

Again two years later, in 1042 A.D., a king Karṇadeva of Cedi is said to have committed suicide by *jalapraveśa* or entering into the waters.⁵⁹ In 1068 A.D. the Cālukya king Someśvara Ahavamalla drowned himself in the Tuṅgabhadra.⁶⁰ Yet the Brāhmaṇas, closing their eyes to the present reality and clinging desperately to the *smṛti* texts would go on to say that no man of distinction does it, and that only Vaiśyas and Śūdras committed suicide.

Orthodox opposition against suicide remained powerful for a long time. It admitted suicide only as a means to end a worthless life, worthless either because bodily defects made it impossible to observe the rules prescribed by *dharma*, or because a *mahāpātaka*, a mortal sin, had rendered this life useless. But it would never accept the pretention that suicide could be a meritorious act in itself, which would lead to *mokṣa*. A passage of Aparārka from the beginning of the 12th century A.D. conveys clearly this point of view:

*dharmārcanāsamarthasya kartuḥ pāpāṅkitasya ca/
brāhmaṇasyāpy anuñātāṃ tīrthe prāṇavimokṣaṇam//
icchanti jīvitaṃ devā dharmārthaṃ tu dvijātiṣu/
adharmajivinas tīrthe dehatyāgo vidhīyate//*⁶¹

"If somebody is not able to respect *dharma*, or is stigmatised with sin, then, in a *tīrtha*, one shall carry out *prāṇavimokṣa* (suicide) which will be even recommended by a *brāhmaṇa*. It is for the sake of *dharma* that the gods wish to live among *dvijas*. For one who lives without *dharma*, suicide in a *tīrtha* is prescribed." All the disgust, all the contempt contained in this passage was of little avail against the deeply rooted appeal of self-destruction. Nīlakaṇṭha, in a verse quoted in Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa's Tristhalīsetu, tries to persuade at least the Brāhmaṇas to refrain from suicide: "The Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas, Śūdras, and the lowest outcastes may abandon their lives, but not a Brāhmaṇa, (because) thereby the Brāhmaṇa, having degraded himself, would be both a murderer of a Brāhmaṇa and a destroyer of his soul."⁶²

In the 15th century even this last barrier falls down. Both Vidyāpati (or Viśvāsadevī) in the *Gaṅgāvākyaṇī* and Vācaspati-miśra in his *Tīrthacintāmaṇi* affirm that the right to commit suicide

59. Referred to by K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, in *Tīrthavivekanakāṇḍa* of *Kṛtyakalpataru* (GOS, vol. 98, 1942, Introduction p. LXXXI and by S. G. Kantawala, *Purāṇa* vol. IX, part 1, p. 111. This Karṇa is not identified. He is not the famous Kalachuri ruler Karṇa, successor of Gaṅgeya.

60. EC. vol. VII, Nr. 136 (Text = part I, p. 181, transl. = part II, n. 102).

61. Aparārka, loc. cit., p. 880.

62. Tristhalīsetu (Anandāśrama ed. p. 52):
śūdrās ca kṣatriyā vaiśyā antyajās ca tathādhamāḥ /
ete tyajeyuh prāṇān vai varjayitvā dvijaṃ nṛpa /
patitvā brāhmaṇas tatra brahmahā vātmahā bhavet / /

in Prayāga belongs to all castes alike.⁶³ Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa in the 16th century is of the same opinion. There is no sin in committing suicide at Prayāga for the sake of *mokṣa*, and apart from some exceptions everybody may resort to it, whether he be healthy or afflicted with malady. The exceptions are interesting, because now the restriction is based no more on dogmatic grounds but on human considerations. Who by committing suicide leaves behind uncared-for his old parents or his young wife and his children who require support, is not entitled to commit suicide at Prayāga, nor is a woman who is pregnant or has young children or has no permission from her husband.⁶⁴

At this stage, religious suicide has gained universal recognition even from the orthodox quarters. But, ironically, at the same time its importance began to decline. The newly introduced human considerations, the following advent and expansion of European influence and rule, the general decay of religion which later led to revival-movements like *Brāhmo Samāj*, *Ārya Samāj*, and the doctrines of Rāmakrishna, Vivekānanda, Śrī Aurobindo etc., they all combined to bring about the gradual decay of the ideal of religious suicide, which had been attracting the faithful victims in India for more than 1500 years.

63. Gaṅgavākyāvalī, ed. by J. B. Chaudhuri (The Contribution of Women to Sanskrit Literature, vol. IV, Calcutta 1940), p. 304-10. The work is attributed by the editor to Viśvāsadevī, princess of Mithilā, who received Vidyāpati's help in composing it. Vide op. cit., App. IV, p. 105-108. Aufrecht (Catalogus Catalogorum) J. Eggeling (Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS, in the India Office Library III, p. 594) and Haraprasad Śāstrī (Descriptive Cat. of Sanskrit MSS, in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Smṛti-volume p. 855) attribute the work to Vidyāpati himself.

Vācaspatimiśra's Tirthacintāmaṇi, ed. by Kamalakrishna Smṛtitīrtha, Calcutta 1912, p. 47-52.

64. Tristhalisetu, Ānandāśrama ed. p. 55:

kṛntu vrddhau pitarau taruṇiṃ bhāryāṃ poṣyam apatyam sa vihāya nādhikārah / evaṃ striyā api garbhinyā bālāpatyāyā bhartānanujñātāyā vā nādhikāra ity ādi jñeyam /

ABBREVIATIONS

AP. = Agni Purāṇa.

ĀpDhS. = Āpastamba Dharmasūtra.

Atri = Atri Smṛti.

CIL = Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.

EC. = Epigraphia Carnatica.

EI = Epigraphia Indica.

GautDhS. = Gautama Dharmasāstra.

GOS. = Gaekwad Oriental Series.

JASB. = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

JUPHS. = Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society.

Kane = P. V. Kane, History of Dharmasāstra.

KP. = Kūrma Purāṇa, ed. by Śrī Nilamaṇi Mukhopādhyāya, Calcutta 1890.

Manu = Manu Smṛti.

MBh. = Mahābhārata.

MP. = Matsya Purāṇa, Ānandāśrama Edition.

NārP. = Nāradya Mahā Purāṇa. Śrī Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay 1923/24.

- Parāśara = Parāśara Dharma Samhitā or Parāśara Smṛti, with Commentary of Śāyana Mādhavāchārya ed. by Vāman Śāstrī Islāmpurkar, 2 vols. in 4 parts, Bombay 1893-1919.
- PdP. = Padma Purāṇa, Ānandāśrama edition in 4 vols., 1893-94.
- Purāṇa = Purāṇa, Bulletin of the Purāṇa Department, All India Kashiraj Trust, Benares.
- RV. = Rgveda.
- Taitt. U. = Taittirīya Upaniṣad.
- VāsDhŚ. = Vāsiṣṭha Dharmaśāstra.
- ViSmṛ = Viṣṇu Smṛti.
- SN. = Saṃyutta Nikāya.
- ŚBr. = Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.
- SkP = Skanda Purāṇa.
- Yāj = Yājñavalkya Smṛti.
- Baudh DhS. = Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra.

THE MINOR DEITIES¹

By

S. G. DESAI

[(1) Introduction (2) Agni (3) Aśvins (4) Indra (5) Kāmadeva (6) Kārtikeya (7) Kubera (8) Garuḍa (9) Jvara (10) Navagraha (11) Nakṣtragana (12) Nirṛti (13) Bharat (14) Brahmā (15) Yama (16) Lakṣmaṇa (17) Varuṇa (18) Vāyu (19) Vāsuki (20) Śatrughna (21) Saṁkarṣaṇa (22) Soma (23) Hanumat (24) Conclusion.]

(1) *Introduction.*

A study of the minor deities in the later Upaniṣads, is presented in this article. These deities are said to be 'Minor Deities', with reference to the later Upaniṣads. For they are not especially adored independently, or no special cult is seen to be devoted to them. Many of these are associated gods of the five principal deities worshipped in the Purāṇic Hindu religion. Some Mantra is incidentally mentioned in the later Upaniṣads for their worship. The Vedic or epic importance of these gods is not taken into consideration here. They are termed as minor deities, as they do not enjoy any greater place in the eyes of the writers of the later Upaniṣads. The deities are arranged according to the alphabetical order in their account given below.

(2) *Agni.*

Agni is red in complexion. He has hands in the form of his flames. He protects the devotees from the fear arising from thieves, serpents, wild beasts etc. He is the messenger for sacrificial purposes. He mounts on a Meṣa (goat). He is the regional guard for the Āgneyī (south-east) direction. He destroys the Mārīcaka demon with his followers who are the eighteen crores of ghosts, corpses, piśācas, Brahmarākṣasas, Śākinī, Ḍākinī, Kākinī, Rākinī; Yākinī, Lākinī and Vetālakāminīs. The feminine power of Agni is Āgneyī, who is identified with Durgā. She has flames as weapon in her hands (Vanadurgā). The word 'Tat' in the Upaniṣadic Mahāvākya symbolises Agni (Bhāvanā). According to Yājñavalkya one should perform Āgneyī Iṣṭi before taking to renunciation, for Agni verily is the Prāṇa (Jābāla 4). Agni is prayed so that he should not harm the cattle or the persons in the house of the worshipper (Mahānārāyaṇa 2). The Agni Gāyatrī is given as, "Vaiśvānarāya vidmahe lālelāya dhīmahi, tanno Agniḥ pracodayāt," and that in honour of Vaiśvānara, the form of Agni as, Vaiśvānarāya vidmahe

1. Based on a chapter from the thesis—'A critical study of the later Upaniṣad' Bombay University, 1962.

saptajihvyāya dhīmahi, tanno vaiśvānaraḥ pracodayāt". This describes Agni as one who has seven tongues, and as one of purifying character (Mahānārāyaṇa 3.6.7.) He is Viśvavedas (knower of all), the protector of sacrifices and possessed of hundred powers (Mahānārāyaṇa 7.4). Agni is Dama (the control over the senses, Mahānārāyaṇa, 25). Agni is identified with Rudra (AV. Śira). He is saluted while applying the sacred ashes on the heart (Havyavāhāya namaḥ, Brhājābāla). His wife is Svāhā (R. hṛdaya). Āgneya Snāna (bath) cures all diseases, and if observed thrice a day it endows a Yogin with the knowledge of Yoga (Śiva 5). Agni is identified with Vaṭuka (Vaṭuka Upaniṣad).

3. *Aśvins.*

Aśvins adorned with the garlands of blue-lotuses, are prayed for obtaining intelligence (Mahānārāyaṇa 16.5). Aśvins worshipped the Pārthiva Liṅga of Śaṅkara (S. Śikhā).

4. *Indra.*

Indra is worshipped mainly as one of the ten regional guards, superintending the eastern direction. He rides the divine elephant called Airāvata. He has golden complexion. He holds a thunderbolt and Aṅkuśa (goad) in his hands. He rains water by which the crops grow. He removes the fears of all kinds of his devotees. He kills Triśūlaka demon with his Gaṇas. Indrāṇī is his personified feminine power. She also holds the thunderbolt in her hands (Vana-durgā). He is fed by Devī (Devyupaniṣad). The bliss enjoyed by Indra is quite limited as compared to the bliss one enjoys by Nirvikalpasamādhi (Maṇḍala Br.). Out of the twelve Mātrās of the Praṇava, the sixth one is Aindrī. If the Yogin parts with his life while engrossed in meditating on this Mātrā, he is reborn as Indra (Nāḍabindu 9.16). Indra is a form of Rudra (AV. Śira). Indra resides on the top of the Bilva Tree (Bilva). He stands to the west of Rudra in the Mukti-maṇḍapa (B. Jābāla). Aindra-snāna (or bath) is performed by facing towards the east, when the sky is cloudless, uttering Ākāśamūrtimantra (Śiva 5). Indra worshipped the Śiva-Liṅga made of Padmarāga gem (S. Śikhā). Indra is a form of Vaṭuka (Vaṭukopaniṣad). Indra destroys whatever is unholy Mahānārāyaṇa 5.1). Ekākṣara is Indra (Ekākṣara). The story of Pratardana, the son of Divodāsa is given in the Kauṣītaki-Brāhmaṇa Upaniṣad (3). Pratardana once arrived at the beloved abode of Indra, by means of fighting and effort. Indra asked him to choose a boon. Pratardana requested Indra alone to choose a boon deemed the most beneficial for mankind, for him. But Indra did not do so, for a superior does not choose for an inferior. Pratardana however insisted upon that, when Indra being the Truth himself advised Pratardana to understand him only. Indra then des-

cribed his own deeds and form. Indra slew the three headed demon *Tvaṣṭr*. He delivered the *Aruṇamukhas*, the ascetics, to the wolves. Transgressing many agreements he killed the people of *Prahlāda* in the sky, the *Paulomas* in the atmosphere, the *Kāla-kañjas* on earth. While doing all this not a single hair of Indra was injured. One knowing Indra thus, is not injured by any worldly deed. Indra in this passage speaks in the name of the Supreme Being. The exploits of Indra referred to in this Upaniṣad can be traced back to RV (10.8.89, 99.6), SB (1.2.3.2, 12.7.1.1), AB (7.28), and TS (2.5.1.1. ff). The intention of Indra in telling all this is to show how one attains supreme wisdom, is delivered from the delusion and one's good and evil deeds do not touch him. Indra is the *Prāṇa* and should be meditated upon as the intelligent Self, as life, as immortality (KU 3.2). Indra is the Brahman (*Nirālamba*). Once when the gods were defeated by the demons, Indra ordered *Gāyatrī* to go and fight against them. But she was afraid of doing so. Indra then made the *Praṇava* as her fore-runner and the protector, and then she was victorious. Indra was this *Praṇava* or *Akṣara* or *Udgītha*. He promised *Oṃkāra* the first and foremost position of being recited before any Vedic recitation. Indra as identified with *Praṇava*, is a bull with four feet in the form of the *Savanas* and the *Praṇava* of seven notes. He assisted by *Maruts* cried aloud and moved on (*Śaunaka*). The *Bāṣkalamantropaniṣad*¹ is devoted to Indra and elevates him to the position of the Brahman. The Upaniṣad consists of twenty five *Triṣṭubh* verses which in form and language resemble a late Vedic *Sūkta* and there is nothing improbable in this Upaniṣad having once formed an integral position of the *Bāṣkala* recension of the RV. Some of the lines are actually met with in the present RV.¹ The story of *Medhātithi* and Indra is alluded to in RV (8.2.40) but it is nowhere fully set forth. It is however perpetuated in what is known as the "Subrahmaṇya" formula in which Indra is invoked as 'Ram of *Medhātithi*'. Alongwith an enumeration of the usual well-known exploits of Indra and a henotheistic exaltation of him above everything else in the world, the declaration, in the last verse, of Indra as being the one, places this Upaniṣad on a par with other monotheistic utterances like, '*Sarvaṃ Khalu idaṃ Brahma*'. Indra assuming the form of a goat, once carried away to the heavens *Medhātithi*, the son of *Kaṇva*. When Indra even though asked for did not reveal his own form and kept on mounting higher and higher, the sage threatened him with a *Brāhmaṇa*'s curse. He particularly emphasised the fact that he was a Special *Protego* of Indra, who was the guardian of men, the bull who quickly overwhelms and

1. Belvalkar, S.K. and Ranade R.D., History of Indian Philosophy, Volume 2, Poona, 1927, pp. 131, 174.

subdues all, and whose descending bolt causes terror unto those that transgress the law. When the threat proved ineffective, Medhātithi was afraid as to whether all the other gods were offended and so did not help him. Eventually Indra, smilingly, dispelled his doubts by declaring his identity. He explained that it was because Medhātithi had formerly practised penance in many ways that he (Indra) had assumed that form of a goat with a view to instructing his worshippers. From the account given by Indra himself the following things are known about him. Indra is giver of gifts and protector of his singers. He sustains goat or the deer or even the beast of prey. He is the great drinker of Soma, who with his might smites the Dragon shattering on the mountain. He smites down the sides of the mountains in order to distribute the divine dew drops and wins the nectar. He resided in the 'world Egg-shell' as also in the Cave (of the human heart). Indra pervades and encompasses the whole universe, supervises and controls it, from his never-failing chariot, carefully and fearlessly. He is in fact, every way the friend, the father, and the mother of this world. He assumes birth in different forms with his miraculous powers. He dwells in the world in a thousand different ways and purifies it from all quarters (Bāṣkalamantra. 11). He is the one shining God, who is incomprehensible in his real nature alike to the giver and the non-giver, though he forms the common goal of all aspirations. Indra has the mastery over all knowledge pertaining to the Vedas, the sacrifice, the metres and the gifts. He is one with the Jātavedas, and with the Sun who spreading through the Heaven and Earth, sustains the 'Dharma' for the protection of mankind. Indra states that he is not different from Medhātithi and preaches the doctrine of Non-duality of self. This Upaniṣad may aptly be called Indropaniṣad. With all this elevation of Indra in this single Upaniṣad, he had not become the god of any sect and so has been included in the list of minor deities.

5. *Kāmadeva*

Kāmadeva is propitiated by wearing the Rudrākṣa beads with thirteen facets. They are auspicious and bring success. (R. Jābāla 15). Kāmadeva is praised in the Vanadurgā Upaniṣad. The arrows of the god of love are described to be the following:—

- (1) Drāvaṇabāṇa,
- (2) Sandīpanabāṇa,
- (3) Sammohanabāṇa,
- (4) Santāpanabāṇa,
- (5) Vaśīkaraṇabāṇa and
- (6) Madanāveśabāṇa.

The Anaṅga Gāyatrī is given in the Nārāyaṇa-pūrvatāpini (4) as follows:—

*Kāmadevāya Vidmahe, Puṣṭabāṇāya Dhīmahi,
Tanno Anaṅgaḥ pracodayāt*

The Sakala Lokarākṣaṇa cakra of Nṛsiṃha has the sixfold Antarvalaya, the fourth part of which belongs to Kāmadeva (Nṛsiṃhaṣaṭcakra). Śivā Bhagavati has eight names with reference to the eight spells of Anaṅga, which are:—

- (1) Anaṅgakusumā,
- (2) Anaṅgamekhalā,
- (3) Anaṅgamadanā,
- (4) Anaṅgamadanāturā,
- (5) Anaṅgarekhā,
- (6) Anaṅgavegā,
- (7) Anaṅgāṅkuśā and
- (8) Anaṅgamālinī.

These names are suggestive of the various phases and powers of Kāma (Ātharvaṇa-dvitiya). The four, five and six syllabled Kāma-mantrās are:—

- (i) Kamaḥ Śaktiḥ
- (ii) Kāmaḥ Śaktiḥ Om
- (iii) Kāmaḥ Śaktiḥ Māyā.

The details of these spells are given in the Ātharvaṇa-dvitiya Upaniṣad. It is but natural that this god should enjoy a great importance in the Śākta school of worshippers especially the Kaulas.

6. Kārtikeya

Kārtikeya is one of the Gaṇas of Śiva and the son of Śaṅkara and Pārvatī. The Rudrākṣa bead with six facets has Kārtikeya as the superintending deity. One obtains wealth, good health and intelligence by wearing it (R. Jābāla). Kārtikeya has six faces. The Gāyatrī spell in his praise is:—

*“Ṣaṇmukhāya vidmahe, mahāsenāya dhīmahi,
Tannaḥ ṣaṣṭhaḥ pracodayāt”*

The spell speaks of his being the leader of armies. (Mahānārāyaṇa 3.5).

7. Kubera

Kubera is one of the regional guards, who presides over the Northern direction. He rides a horse. He is yellow in complexion. He holds a mace and the goad in his hands. He protects from Aśvalaka demon. His feminine power is Kauberī who holds the same weapons as are held by her husband (Vanadurgā). He worshipped the Śivaliṅga made of snow (S. Śikhā).

8. *Garuḍa*

The Māhānārāyaṇa Up. (3.15) glorifies Garuḍa by praising him in a Gāyatrī spell, as follows:—

“Tatpuruṣāya vidmahe, Suparṇapakṣāya dhīmahi,

Tanno Garuḍaḥ pracodayāt”

Thus it states that Garuḍa had strong wings and he is identified with the Supreme Brahman. Garuḍa also incarnated alongwith Viṣṇu whose vehicle he is, as the lofty Banyan tree on the Govardhana hill in Vṛndāvana in the Kṛṣṇa-avatāra (Kṛṣṇa). One entire Upaniṣad called Garuḍopaniṣad is devoted to Garuḍa. The account of this divine bird given therein is given below. This Ātharvaṇic Upaniṣad serves as an antidote against all kinds of deadly poisons. Alongwith this magical side, the Upaniṣad finally declares that it leads the devotee to the final liberation also. Garuḍa works as an antidote against the poison in the form of the wrong knowledge and cures the beings endowing them with the real knowledge of the Brahman. This lore is called as Gāruḍī Vidyā. This Gāruḍī Vidyā has come down successively from Brahmā, Nārada, Bṛhatsena, Indra, Bhāradvāja and others. Thus it is so sacred. The seer of this Vidyā is Brahmā, the metre is Gāyatrī, the deity is Mahāgaruḍa (the eagle). The different Nyāsas describe Garuḍa as the great lord of birds, dear to Viṣṇu, adored by the three worlds and of dreadful form. Then follows the meditation on Garuḍa in which he is described as follows:

Garuḍa is the favourite of Hari. Ananta forms his left wrist, Vāsuki the sacrificial thread and Takṣaka his hip-string. Karkoṭaka is his garland. There is a Padma on his right ear and a Mahāpadma on the left ear. There is the conchshell in the region of his chest and a Gulika between the shoulders. The Pauṇḍra Kālikā and Nāgaka (white and dark serpents) play the role of the chworries. He is served by Nāga and others, the sons of Ilā. He is full of exhilaration, has tawny coloured eyes and mighty wings of golden lustre. He has long arms and capacious shoulders and is decked with snakes and ornaments. He is of golden complexion upto the knee, snow-white upto the hips, of the colour of vermillion upto the neck. His face is like hundred moons in colour. He is decked with big and beautiful ear-rings. His face is frightful due to his tusks and his crest is radiant crown. His limbs are of the colour of vermillion and the face bright white like the Kundā flowers of the moon. Garuḍa of such a form should be meditated on, thrice a day with the prayer, “Viṣṇuvāha namastubhyaṁ, kṣemaṁ kuru sadā mama”. He, the charger of Viṣṇu at once destroys deadly poisons, (Viṣaṁ nāśayate śīghraṁ tūlarāśimivānalāḥ). The garland spell of Garuḍa is then stated, in which his nails, mouth, teeth, jaws, tail, wings and head are all said to possess adamantine strength. He des-

troys the poison of Daṇḍasūka and of all the other poisonous reptiles. He has the solar region in his fist. His limbs bear the marks of the terrestrial regions. He removes all the poisonous effects though latent in the body, on account of the help of the thunderbolt of Indra. He could obtain the nectar from heaven, because Viṣṇu protected him from the power of the thunderbolt.

Then follows a metaphorical description of Garuḍa's body. Thus the threefold hymns of praise used in the sacrifice of the name Trivṛtta, form his head, Gāyatrī is his eye, thousands of Stomas the soul, Vāmadevasāman his body, Bṛhadrathasāman the two wings, Yajñāyajñīyasāman his tail and various other Chandases the other limbs.

The Rv and Yv hymns are his talons and the Av hymns are his other limbs. Garuḍa cures his devotees of the poison of the various kinds of serpents, such as Anantaka, Vāsuki, Takṣaka, Karkoṭaka, Padmaka, Mahāpadmaka, Śaṅkhaka Gulika, Pauṇḍrakālīka, and Nāgakas and of the scorpions, spiders, centipedes, mice, house-lizards, blood-suckers and the poison of germs generated in human habitations, mountain-caverns, mole-hills, seasonal conflagration and the poison of insects feeding on grass and leaves and abiding in the holes of dry wood timber and trees, and of the insects growing in roots, barks, trunks, exudatious leaves, flowers and fruits and of monkeys, dogs, cats, jackals, tigers, swine and that of wounds caused by the piercing of weapons and missiles. Garuḍa counteracts the evil effects of the spirits, vampires, pumpkins, devils, ghosts, demons, Yakṣas and other fearful poisonous creatures. One does not suffer from snake-bite if one recites the Garuḍa-Upaniṣad on new-moon day or listens to its recital on that day. When due to the blessings of Garuḍa, all the other poisons are destroyed, then only, one enjoys the Brahmāmṛta and finally obtains emancipation.

9. Jvara

The Vanadurgā Upaniṣad deifies even the evil side of nature. Thus Jvara (fever) is praised in the following Jvara-Gāyatrī.

*"Bhasmāyudhāya vidmahe tikṣṇadaṁṣṭraya dhīmahi
Tanno Jvaraḥ pracodayāt."*

Thus the fever has Bhasma (ashes) as his weapon and his jaws are sharp. The deity called Jvara destroys, prevents or cures the following types of sickness. The list is quite exhaustive and refers to the fever lasting for one, thirteen or fifteen days, those lasting for one, two, three or six months or for one year. The list further includes the troubles caused by Vāta (wind) Pitta (bile), Apasmāra, the Brāhmika, Śmleṣa, Sannipātika or the continuous fever, cold fever, hot fever, Viṣama fever, Gaṁḍa and Viṣphoṭaka.

The Lāṅgūlopaniṣad also enumerates these fevers and states that they are cured by the favour of the god Hanūmat. A Tāntrik prayer to this effect is given in that Upaniṣad.

10. *Navagraha*

The Vanadurgopaniṣad glorifies the nine planets such as Ravi etc. by stating the spells in their praise. Thus 1) the sun is praised as a god going in his golden chariot and observing all the worlds, bestowing nectar by rays on life and non-life. This oblation is to be offered, with the muttering of that spell in honour of the god Sun. The spells in honour of the other planets are given in the Upaniṣad. At the great festivals and worships, offerings are made to all planets. Thus to Sūrya are offered the oblations of small pieces of Arka plant, to Soma of Palāśa, to Maṅgala of Khādira, to Budha of Aparmārga, to Bṛhaspati of Aśvattha, to Śukra of Udumbara, to Śani of Śamī, to Rāhū of blades of Dūrvā grass and to Ketu of blades of Kuśa grass. The image of Sūrya is a round piece of mixed metal twelve fingers in diameter; of Soma a piece like a half-moon, a cubic from end to end; of Maṅgala a triangular piece six fingers in breadth; of Bṛhaspati a piece like a Lotus; Śukra a square piece of silver; of Śani an iron snake.¹

11. *Nakṣatragaṇa*.

The twenty-seven (lunar mansions) constellation are deified as the forms of Vanadurgā. The Vanadurgopaniṣad gives the spells to be uttered at the time of offering oblations to these goddesses in the form of the Nakṣatras. 'Namaḥ, is to be uttered after every word.

(1) Āśvinyai, (2) Bharāṇyai, (3) Kṛttikāyai, (4) Rohiṇyai, (5) Mṛgaśīrṣāya, (6) Ārdṛāyai, (7) Punarvasave, (8) Puṣyāya, (9) Āśreṣāyai, (10) Maghāya, (11) Pūrvaphālgunyai, (12) Uttara-phālgunyai, (13) Hastāya (14) Citrāya, (15) Abhijityai, (16) Viśākhāyai, (17) Anurādhāyai, (18) Jyēsthāyai, (19) Mūlāya, (20) Pūrvāśādhayai, (21) Uttarāśādhayai, (22) Śroṇāyai, (23) Śraviṣṭhāyai, (24) Śatabhiṣaje, (25) Pūrvapṛoṣṭhapadāya, (26) Uttarapṛoṣṭhapadāya, (27) Revatyai.

All these spells are to be followed finally by the spell in honour of Rudra,

"Om namaḥ rudrāya namaḥ rudrāya nāmaḥ"

12. *Nirṛti*.

This god is one of the eight regional guards, superintending the South-west direction. He is blue coloured. He holds a sword

1. Ward Williams: A view of the History, Literature & Religion of Hīndus, London, 1822, p. ii, 71.

in his hand. He rides a man. He subdues the Sātyaka demon. The name of his feminine power deified is also Nirṛti and she also holds a sword in her hand. Nirṛti worshipped the Śiva-Liṅga made of wood (Dārudbhava) (S. Śikhā).

13. Bharata.

He stands to the right side of Rāma, when in his company. He with Śatrughna and Hanūmat forms a triangle in the Rāma-yantra (Rāmapūrvatāp. 6). The spell in praise of Bharata is:—

"Bham̐ Bharatāya svāhā".

The seer of the spell is Agastya, the metre Gāyatrī, Bharata the deity, 'bham̐' is the seed syllable. The verse for meditation of the god is:—

*"Bharataṁ Śyāmalaṁ Śāntaṁ Rāmasevāparāyaṇaṁ,
Dhanurbāṇadharaṁ Virāṁ Kaikeyī-tanayaṁ bhaje".*

Bharata is of dark complexion, tranquil, always intent on the worship of and service of Rāma, holding the bow and the arrows, the warrior, the son of Kaikeyī. (Rāma-rahasya 2). He sprang out of the syllable 'M' of Rāma Praṇava (Rāma-Uttaratāp.).

14. Brahman (m).

The description of the triad of gods Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva is seen in almost all the later Upaniṣads. They have here a Purāṇic tenor. The god Brahmā is said to be the creator of the world, Viṣṇu the protector and Rudra the destroyer. While praising favourite god, however, all these three functions are attributed to that god only. Out of these three gods, Viṣṇu and Śiva have been made the object of worship and adoration of the different sects that arose in their honour, but Brahmā remains curiously enough, only the cosmic creative power personified and is in no Upaniṣad described as a very prominent god. He is almost always described as playing a subordinate part, being only the creator of the world.

Brahmā is represented in pictures as a person of red complexion, with four heads, though in the Purāṇas, it is said, he originally possessed five. Different legends are narrated in the Purāṇas as to why his fifth head was later on cut off by Śiva. He composed the four Vedas, one by each mouth. Brahmā is dressed in white garments and rides upon a goose. In one hand he carries a staff and in the other a dish for receiving alms. Sarasvatī is either his daughter or according to other account his wife. Sāvitrī and Gāyatrī are also described to be his wives. He is generally recognised as the creator of the universe and from him the other Prajāpatīs were born. He resides in the Brahmāloka or in the lotus growing from the navel of Viṣṇu. It is clear that Brahmā

is one of the three supremē gods of the Hindu Trinity; as such he commanded a great reverence and worship. There are following six Purāṇas devoted to him:—

(1) Brāhma, (2) Brahmāṇḍa, (3) Brahmavaivarta, (4) Mārkaṇḍeya, (5) Bhaviṣya, (6) Vāmana Purāṇa.

But later on Brahmā received scant recognition in the later Hindu religion. The Purāṇas themselves relate some reason for this: it may be that because of the curse given by Sarasvatī to him when he married Gāyatrī. The reason that Brahmā alone is not worshipped at present seems to be that Brahmā has already accomplished his single act of creation of the universe. His work is over, and so is no more adored. However, the issue remains unsolved and no satisfactory reason can be given for his being practically being ignored in the Trinity.*

Brahmā is the first of the Prajāpatīs. At times there is a mention of Prajāpati in the later Upaniṣads where it is not made clear as to what Prajāpati is specifically intended there. It is, therefore, presumed here that those references are to Brahmā only.

Brahmā in the later Upaniṣads.

Brahmā is praised in the following Upaniṣads:—(1) Kaṭharudra, (2) Kalisantarāṇa, (3) Kātyāyana, (4) Kaivalya, (5) Gāyatrīrahasya, (6) Garuḍa, (7) Gopālapūrvatāpinī (8) Nārada, (9) Nārāyaṇapūrvatāpinī, (10) Nārāyaṇauttaratāpinī, (11) Nṛsimhapūrvatāpinī, (12) Nṛsimhauttaratāpinī, (13) Nṛsimha śatcakra, (14) Piṇḍopaniṣad, (15) Praṇava, (16) Śrīrādhā, (7) Sāmarahasya, (18) Sūrya and (19) Sūryatāpinī.

The following Upaniṣads have been addressed to him.

(1) Akṣamālikā, (2) Turiyātītāvadhūta, (3) Tripād-vibhūti-mahānārāyaṇa and (4) Paramahamsāparivrājaka.

Brahmā is the superintendent of the upward direction. He is red in complexion. He mounts upon a swan. He has a Kamaṇḍalu (wooden pot) in his hand. He destroys the demon called Ākāśavāsin. Brahmāṇī is his wife. She has Kamaṇḍalu, a rosary of beads and a laddle in her hands (Vanadurgā). Devī supports Brahmā (Devī). Gāyatrī the goddess belongs to Brahmā (Gāyatrīrahasya). Brahmā is one of the five limbs of Highest Brahman (Gopālapūrvatāpinī).

* To-day he is scarcely worshipped at all in India. Only two temples exist, one at Lake Puṣkara in Rajputana and the other near Idar close to Mount Abu. He is praised in the Sandhyāvandana. In the month of Māgha on the full moon day, an earthen image of him is worshipped with that of Śiva on his right hand and Viṣṇu on his left.—Martin E.O., *The Gods of India*, Calcutta, 1913, p. 89.

tāp). One of the three lines drawn in the Ūrdhvapauṇḍra represents Brahmā (Gopicandana). The Tulasī plant has Brahmā residing in its middle. (Tulasī). Brahmā related the importance of the Ūrdhvapauṇḍra mark to Nārada (Nārada Up.). The syllable 'R' in the spell 'Rām' devoted to Rāma represents Brahmā (Rāmapūrvatāp. 2). Brahmā related to Nārada the greatness of the Haya-grīva spells. He knew the one syllabled Hayagrīva spell, 'Lhaun', and imparted it to Mahādeva. (Hayagrīva 1, 2). The Mahānārāyaṇa (2.18) states a Gāyatrī spell in praise of Brahmā as follows:—

"Caturmukhāya vidmahe Kamaṇḍaludharāya dhimahi, tanno Brahmā pracodayāt".

Here Brahmā is described to be having four faces and as holding a water-pot in his hand. In the mental worship, Brahmā is identified with Manas (Mind) (Māhānārāyaṇa 25; Mano Brahmā). Brahmā presides over the Antarsutra of the Rudrākṣa bead (Akṣamālikā). The Pūrvamātrā of Omkāra belongs to Brahmā (AV. Śikhā). He is identified with Rudra (AV. Śira). He resides to the left side of the Bilva tree (Bilva). Brahmā stands in the eastern direction. when Śiva is in the middle of the Muktimanḍapa (B. Jābāla). The wife of Brahmā is Vāṇī, or speech and both of them are identified with Rudra and Umā (R. hṛdaya) Brahmā protects the root of Rudrākṣa (R. Jābāla). Brahmā praised Śarabha, a form of Śiva as the greatest god worth adoration (Śarabha). Prajāpati preached the doctrines of renunciation to Āruṇi Āruṇika). Before taking to renouncing one is advised to consider one's son as the god Brahmā (Kaṭharudra). Yājñavalkya mentions the Prajāpati Iṣṭi and advocates the Āgneyi Iṣṭi to be performed before taking to renunciation. (Jābāla). Brahmā was advised to worship Dattātreyā, by Nārāyaṇa (Dattātreyā). The story of Brahmā and the removal of his pride by Gaṇapati has been described in the Gaṇapati-pūrvatāpinī-Upaniṣad. The syllable 'A' in the Omkāra has Brahmā as the deity and by meditating upon that Mātrā red in colour, one obtains Brahmāpada (Prajāva). Brahmā is seated on the lotus in the region of the heart. He is of the colour of reddish gem, and has four faces. He is the grand-father who should be conceived along with the Kumbhaka breath (Dhyānabindu). Brāhmī is the twelfth mantra of the Prajāva and if the Yogin gives up his breaths when he is in this Mātrā then he reaches the eternal Brahmanhood (Nāda-bindu 9-16). The Pāśupatabrahmapanīṣad is related by Brahmā to his own son Vālakhilya known as Vaiśravaṇa (Pāśupatabrahma). The finite Ātman is described as of five different ways with five deities. Brahmā has the seat of the heart. The knot of Brahmā is situated in the syllable 'A' of Prajāva (Brahmavidyā). Brahmā is the presiding deity of Pīṅgalā Nāḍī (Śrījābāladarśana 4).

Thus Brahmā is often referred to along with Viṣṇu and Śiva in the Yoga Upaniṣads. He is mentioned in the Śivopaniṣads also along with these two gods. Thus though always praised in the Vedic triad, Brahmā has no sect in his honour.

15. Yama

Yama is one of the guardians of regions. He presides over the Southern direction. He is blue in complexion. He rides a buffalo. Yama is offered the oblation of Soma juice in sacrifice. He destroys Piṅgalaka demon. Yamī is his wife, who is however described as his sister in the RV. who holds Kāla (the god of death) as the staff in her hand for punishment (Vanadurgā). Yama is identified with Rudra (AV. Śra). The Rudrākṣa bead with ten facets has Yama as the deity and by wearing it on body one obtains—solace of the mind or overcomes evil (R. Jābāla). Yama worshipped the Śiva liṅga made of Marakata (S. Śikhā). He is a form of Vaṭuka (Vaṭukopaniṣad).

16. Lakṣmaṇa.

He is the younger step-brother of Rāma and is a close associate of him next to Sitā. Lakṣmaṇa along with Sitā and Rāma is a deity in the Rāma-triangle (Trikoṇa Rāmapūrvatāp. 4). He sprang out of the syllable 'A' of the Rāma-Praṇava (Rāma-uttaratāp). Lakṣmaṇa-mantra is given with the usual details. Thus the seer is Agastya, the metre is Gāyatrī and Lakṣmaṇa is the deity presiding over it. The syllable 'L' is the seed syllable and *namaḥ* is the Śakti. This mantra is meant to secure the four fold aims of human existence. The Nyāsas are: Laṁ Liṁ Luṁ Loṁ Lauṁ and Laḥ. The spell is: Laṁ Lakṣmaṇāya namaḥ. Lakṣmaṇa is thus praised:

*Dvibhujam svarṇaruciratanum padmanibheksanam
Dhanurbāṇādharam Vande Rāmārāadhanatatparam*".

Lakṣmaṇa is golden in his complexion of the body. He is lotus-eyed. He holds a bow and arrows and is always intent on propitiating Rāma. Lakṣmaṇa is the ideal of a brother and of a sincere devotee as well. That is why he is also worshipped as a god.

17. Varuṇa.

Varuṇa is the Lord of the West. He is represented as white in colour. He has a noose in his hand and is prayed so that he may not snatch away life. He mounts upon a Makara (crocodile). He destroys the demon by name Khala. Vāruṇī is his wife, who also holds a noose in her hands and is identified with Durgā (Vanadurgā). The half Mātrā of Praṇava is of the form of Varuṇa (the Tūrya—condition) (Nāda bindu). He is the presiding deity of Alam-

busā Nāḍī (Śrījābāladarśana). Ekākṣara has the king Varuṇa as his form (Ekākṣara). Devī is identified with Varuṇa (Devī). Vāruṇasnāna is performed by meditating upon Varuṇa's form and it is good for health if practised thrice a day (Śiva 5). He is adored along with his wife (Namo Varuṇāya namo Vāruṇyai namaḥ (Mahā-nārāyaṇa 5.1).

18. Vāyu.

He is the Lord of the North-west direction. He is of the colour of smoke. He mounts on a deer. He holds a banner in his hand. He is the son-in-law of Tvaṣṭṛ. He protects his devotees from death and leads them to immortality. Vāyavi is his wife who also holds a *dhvaja* (banner) in her hand. Vāyu destroys the Pralambaka demon (Vanadurgā).

19. Vāsukī.

He is the Lord of downward direction. He is blue in colour. He rides a tortoise. He is the chief of the serpents. Vāsukī kills the demon called Pātālavāsī. His wife is Pātālavāsīnī, who holds a poisonous hook in her hands (Vanadurgā).

20. Śatrughna.

He is the younger step-brother of Rāma, who stands to the right side of Rāma in Rāmapañcāyatana (Rāmapūrvatāp.). He sprang out of the syllable 'U' of the Rāma Praṇavas (Rāma uttaratāp.). The spell in his honour is, "Śaṁ śatrughnāya namaḥ." The meditation on him is to be done with the following verse:

*"Dvibhujam suvarṇābhram Rāmasevāparāyaṇam-
Lavaṇāsuraḥantāram Sumitrātanayaṁ bhaje."*

It describes that Śatrughna has two arms. He is of golden complexion. He is the son of Sumitrā. He killed the demon Lavaṇa. He is also devoted to the service of Rāma (Rāmarahasya 2).

21. Saṅkarṣaṇa.

There is one Upaniṣad named after this god. It deals with the doctrines of Bhāgavata school. From Vāsudeva, the serpent Śeṣa was born. This Śeṣa was named as Saṅkarṣaṇa. From Saṅkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna i.e. mind was born who gave rise to Aniruddha (i.e. ego). Aniruddha is the source of the golden egg. From that egg took place the creation of all beings. Śeṣa or Saṅkarṣaṇa is the original creator and in him only all beings are reabsorbed in the end. He is credited with the authorship of different sciences like grammar and astronomy. He is worshipped by many sages. He supports the globe of the universe on his head. He removed the pride of the great wind checking his progress by the peaks of Meru mountain.

Saṅkarṣaṇa or Śeṣa became Lakṣmaṇa in the Rāma incarnation of Viṣṇu and destroyed the demons. He then became Balarāma, the son of Rohiṇī. Rāmānuja is regarded as the incarnation of Śeṣa who spread the religious faith and uprooted heretics. One obtains liberation by meditating upon him. Saṅkarṣaṇa removes all sins. One is united with Viṣṇu by reciting his name. One studying the Saṅkarṣaṇa Upaniṣad is never reborn.

22. Soma.

Soma is the presiding deity with reference to Gāndhārī and Śaṅkhinī Nādis (Śrījābālādārśana). Ekākṣara is the moon (Ekākṣara). The moon is to be worshipped for obtaining immortality. He is praised as the king Soma. He is said to have five mouths by which he swallows the kings, the Vaiśyas, the birds, worlds and all the beings. He makes the worshipper eater of good food or giver thereof (K U 2). Soma and his wife Tārā are compared to Rudra and his wife Umā respectively (R. hṛdaya). Vaṭuka is Soma (Vaṭuka).

23. Hanūmat.

Rāma explains the means of obtaining liberation to Haūmai (Muktikā). Hanūmat stands in the posture of a pupil listening to Rāma's words in his front. He along with Śatrughna and Bharata forms the triangle in Rāma-Yantra (Rāmapūrvatāp). Hanūmat explains the Rāmarahasyopaniṣad. The spell in honour of Hanūmat is Haṁ Hanūmate namaḥ. The seer of the mantra is Rāmacandra. He is meditated upon as,

*"Dvibhujam svarṇavarṇābham Rāmasevāparāyaṇam
mauñjīkaupīnasahitam taṁ dhyāyet Rāmasevakaṁ."*

Hanūmat has two arms, is of golden complexion, is given to the service of Rāma, and is possessed of the hip-cord and the loin-cloth (Rāmarahasya 2) He always helps all those who mutter the spells of Rāma (Rāmarahasya 4). One entire Upaniṣad is devoted to praise Hanūmat and it is the Lāṅgūla Upaniṣad. The Mūla-mantra for obtaining the favour of Śrī Hanūmat is given. The different spells to be used as Nyāsas give the following account of Hanūmat. He is the fire to subdue the Kālānala (the fire of death). He is a warrior of terrible valour. He is the desire-yielding gem. He is the Pātāla Garuḍa (the eagle in the nether region). He is Kālāgnirudra and Vikāṭarudra. He is to be meditated upon as possessed of the following form. Hanūmat has his body, strong like the thunderbolt. His eyes are brown. Golden ear-rings dangle on his cheeks. He is not hurt even by the attack of thunderbolt. He is

the overlord of the beings and demons. He, the lord of monkeys has a huge form. He churned the ocean by his tail. He is surrounded by monkeys and is seen always meditating on Rāmacandra. He is the essence of all mights and is always quite delightful in his appearance. He brightens the three worlds. His mouth, teeth, eyes, body, hair, and other limbs are as stout as the thunderbolt. He is the soul of all. He is the incarnation of Virabhadra, seen at the time of deluge destroying the world. His arms are stout like those of Śarabha. He burnt Laṅkā, the capital of Rāvaṇa. He enjoyed the full confidence of Sitā. He is the son of a god born of Añjanā. He swallowed the round orb of the rising sun. He is adorable to the gods, demons, sages and the learned persons. He can counteract the missiles of Paśupati, Brahmā, Nārāyaṇa and Kālāsakti. He saves his devotees from the evil influence of the spells of other deities. He is lustrous like the burning fire. He subdues the deadly fire produced by the successful powers of the AV. His speed is comparable to that of wind and mind. He is the fortunate one, who saw the cosmic form of Śrī Rāma, the all saving Brahman. He brought Lakṣmaṇa to consciousness when he was hit by a missile. He can pierce through the fire on the earth and in the waters. He destroys the enemies of his devotees. He is the destroyer of witches. He is the cause of making friendship with Sugrīva. He is a celibate. He is Digambara (having the quarters as his garment). He is capable of curing acute pain (śūla) in the various limbs of the body. He cures the various kinds of fevers, poisons, and cuts off all fetters. A spell about Hanūmat, protecting the worshipper from any hypnotic operation is given. Hanūmat is praised in the next spell as one who possesses the eight great powers of Devadatta, Digambara and one who is of the form of the eight Mahābhairavas. He is equal in form to the ten (incarnation of) Viṣṇu, the eleven Rudras, the twelve Ādityas and thirteen Somas. His limbs excel in stupefying and impressing charms. The Upaniṣad specially glorifies the Lāṅgūla or the tail of Hanūmat, in a long spell (Mantra) for it burnt the city of Rāvaṇa. That Lāṅgūla is the symbol of Hanūmat which when worshipped it burns the worldly evils and lifts up the Sādhaka to the world of Rāma. Hanūmat is not identified with the Brahman to keep up his role of a devoted servant, who would always like to be modest in front of his master. So is Hanūmat who favours his devotees to enable them to see Śrī Rāma who is the Brahman.

24. Conclusion.

It may be noted from the foregoing study that, Indra, Garuḍa, Brahmā, Saṅkarṣaṇa and Hanūmat are relatively of greater importance than other minor deities in the later Upaniṣads. The exploits

of these different gods have been finely described through the garb of various spells. These descriptions are clearly Tāntrik, but exhibit an inclination to the doctrines of the Advaita Vedānta. The abstract things like the planets, Nakṣatras and even Jvara and Love have been deified. The worship of these is authoritatively advocated in those later Upaniṣads for the first time, thus showing an accommodating attitude for the popular beliefs. The form of idols of many of these deities have been given here for the first time. A majority of the minor deities are the associates of Śiva, Viṣṇu and Śakti, glorified separately. The Ātharvaṇic influence on the treatment of these deities is clearly visible.

THE SOLAR CULT AS REVEALED BY THE GUPTA AND POST-GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS

By

V. C. SRIVASTAVA

There is no denying the fact that ancient Indian literature and foreigners' accounts have thrown a flood of light on the origin and growth of the Sun-worship in ancient India but it is also to be accepted in all fairness that so far as the epigraphical testimony is concerned no proper and systematic study has been done for the sake of the history of the solar cult in ancient India. The value of the epigraphical evidence for the political and cultural history of India cannot be over-emphasised¹ specially in view of its contemporary, datable and non-interpolatory nature in marked contrast to the late, undatable, and interpolatory character of ancient Indian literature. Here the author attempts to examine the epigraphical material of the Gupta and post-Gupta periods upto Harsha for the history of the solar-cult of India and to find out how far the literary data about the solar cult are corroborated by this source.

The earliest epigraphical testimony about the sun-worship is supplied by Indor Copper-plate inscription of Skandagupta (dated 465-66 A.D.) which has rightly been taken as 'an inscription of solar-worship'.² The Sun-god is invoked under the name of 'Bhāskara' as the rich source of rays and piercer of darkness. Throughout the Vedic and Purāṇic literature³ the role of the Sun-god as a daymaker and dispeller of darkness is lauded. It is interesting to point out that the Sun-god in this inscription is prayed to protect mankind from mental and physical ailments. The idea is quite familiar one because the Sun-god has been praised as a physician curing various physical diseases and internal maladies.⁴ More

1. Cf. Colebrooke's Misc. Essays—vol. II, p. 213. He opines 'In the scarcity of authentic materials for the ancient and even for the modern history of the Hindu race, importance is justly attached to all genuine monuments and especially inscriptions on stone and metal'.

2. Fleet, J.F., *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, p. 70.

3. Cf. R.V. X—37-4; VII—63-1; IV—13-4; A.V. V—12-1, IX—1-19, XIII—2-4, K.B. XXV—9; S.B. III—3-2-12; XII—9-2-8; In the *Mahābhārata*, *Sūrya*, is known from such epithets as *Divākara* *Prakāśakarman*, *Bhāskara* and is also described as possessed of radiant rays, *Amśumat*, *Arka*, *Sahasra-Kirāṇa*, *Sahasraraśmi*. In *Purāṇas*, *Bhāskara* is one of the twelve common names of the sun-god. cf. *Śamba Up-Purāṇa*-ch. 9.

4. R.V. I—50-11. 12; X—37-4; A.V. I—22-4; VI—83-1 etc. See Karambelkar, Dr. V. W.—*The Atharvaveda and Ayurveda*, pp. 70-73.

over Sun-worship under the name of Savitr⁵ was regarded as giving peace of mind. Thus this description of the inscription confirms the view that the Sun-worship was not only responsible for physical benefits but also for spiritual tranquillity. Further some sort of the solar-sectarianism is also envisaged in this inscription because it is specifically said that Brāhmaṇas of enlightened mind worship him according to due rite and their praises are directed solely to him. ('*Vipra-vidhivat=prabudha-manaso*'). He is limitless and nobody neither gods nor demons can measure him. In this description three constituent elements of a sect are present viz., exclusiveness (*dhyān-aika-tānā(na) stuvah*), fixed procedure (*vidhivat*), supremacy because he is above and beyond the gods and demons (*Yasya antaṁ tridaś-āsurā na vividur=nn=ōrdhvaṁ na tiryag-gatih (ṁ)*). There is explicit mention of a sun-temple at Indor (Indrapur, Buland-sahar, U.P) which was established by the Kshatriyas Achalavarman and Bhrukunthasimha-merchants of the town of Indrapur.⁶ It is significant to note that Deva-Viṣṇu a Brahman of orthodox Vedic tradition⁷ gave an endowment for the purpose of maintaining a lamp in this sun-temple. The guild of oilman was expected to give two *palas* of oil for the lamp. This piece of evidence is significant because here the temple construction and the solar-worship by means of a lamp most probably before a solar image is done by the indigenous people of India—Kshatriyas, Brāhmaṇas of orthodox Vedic tradition (not lower *Sakaldvipi* Brāhmaṇas) and Vaiśyas as is evident by the term 'guild of oil-man'. This evidence falsifies the popular⁸ myth that Iranian Magas were solely responsible for these two traditions of solar-cult in ancient India. Besides Iranian Magas, the Indians of even orthodox tradition were not far behind in following these two practices. The name of the solar god for whom the temple was constructed is purely indigenous—i.e. Savitr (*Bhagavate Savitre*) and not Iranian Mithra. Thus by the middle of the fifth century A.D. a full-fledged solar-sect with all the paraphernalia of a temple, image, priesthood, rites and procedures has come into vogue. Therefore the literary evidence of the Mahā-bhārata⁹ about the existence of a sect of Sauras is corroborated by epigraphy. This inscription supplies us the earliest positive evi-

5. R.V. III—62-10. S.V. II—8-12, Y.V. III—35, A.V. XIX—71-1.

B.A.U. V—14-1-6, Manu II—77-83, Viṣṇu-Dharmasūtra 55-11-17, Maitri-Up VI—7. Gāyatri Hymn is prescribed for control and peace of mind.

6. "Indrapur-ādhishtsāna-mādāta-lagnam-ēva protistōpitaka bhagavatē savitrē dip ōp ayōjyam-ātma-yasō bhivari-dhayē mulyam prayachchti".

Indor Copper Plate Inscription, Fleet, J.F. C.I.I., Vol. III, p. 70.

7. Devaviṣṇu is described as Chaturvedin, who recites the hymns of Agnihotra sacrifice. The name of the donor—Devaviṣṇu is still indicative of the fact that sun under the name of God Viṣṇu must have been worshipped in his family, hence the name.

8. Bhaviṣya-Purāna—Ch. 139. The legend occurs in Varāha, Skanda, Sāmba, Purānas cf. Studies in Upa-Purānas Vol. I R. C. Hazra. pp. 29ff.

9. M.B.H. VII—82-14-16.

dence for the existence of a solar temple in Uttar Pradesh by the middle of the fifth century A.D.

Mandasor stone-inscription of Kumārgupta and Bandhuvarman of 437-38 and 473-74 A.D. has also rightly been taken as an inscription of solar worship¹⁰ as it belongs throughout to the solar form of worship. As in Indor copper Plate Inscription, here also the Sun-god under the name of Savitṛ and Bhāskara is invoked decorated with beams and shining day after day. It is interesting to point out that the Sun-god is invoked in sectarian fashion. He is worshipped by hosts of Gods, Siddhas, Brāhmaṇas, Gandharvas, Kinnaras and Naras. He is worshipped for the sake of existence. He is the cause of destruction and commencing of the universe. He grants desires to those who worship him.¹¹ Here a few descriptions from the indigenous literature are quoted which contain sectarian form of solar-worship. In the Mahābhārata¹² it is said that he discovers, sustains and supports the universe. He is adored by Ṛṣis, Brāhmaṇas, Siddhas, Cāraṇas, Gandharvas, Yakṣas, Guhykas, Maruts, Vidyādhara Sādhyas, Vasus, Pannagas and Rudras. He who adores Sūrya on the sixth and seventh lunar day with humility and tranquillity of mind obtains the desired thing from Sūrya. In Sāmba Upa-Purāṇa such sectarian descriptions of solar worship are found at more than one occasion. He is attended by the gods, Yakṣhas, Gandharvas, Apsaras, by the three Vedas incarnate, by the sages.¹³ A perusal of these descriptions from literary works and that of the Mandasor inscription will reveal that virtually there is no difference in the ideas of solar-sectarianism as preached in these two different sets of evidence. On the other hand, they corroborate each other.

Further the testimony of this inscription for the solar-worship is significant in the sense that it informs us that a noble and unequalled temple of the bright rayed orb (i.e. Sun) was caused to be built by the silk cloth-weavers, as a guild, with the stores of wealth, acquired by craft, in 437 A.D. This temple had broad and lofty spires and resembled a mountain and was white as the rays of the risen moon. It was repaired in 473-74 A.D. by the guild.¹⁴ This

10. Fleet, J.F., *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, p. 79-88.

11. (Sid) dh (a) m(ii) y(ō v) rit(t) y-a(r) ttam upāsytē sura-ganais siddhais = cha siddhya arthirbhir ddhyān aik-agra parair-vividhēya = vishyair = mṛṇōksh-ārtihibhir = yūgibhiḥ | bhaktyā tivra-tapōdhanais-cha munibhis śapa-prasāda-kṣhamair hētur-yyō jagatah = kṣay-ābhyud-a jayōh-pāyāt-sa vo bhāskarah //

.....gandharva-āmara-siddha-kinnara-narais-saṁstuyate bhytthito bhaktēbhyas-cha dadāti yo-bhilashitain tasmai savitrē namaḥ.

—Mandasor stone inscription of Kumargupta and Baudhuvarman Fleet, J.F., C. I. I. Vol. III, p. 81.

12. M.B.H. III—3-29. cr. edn.

13. Cf. Hazra, R. C., *Studies in Upa-Purāṇas*, Vol. I.

14. Fleet, J.F. C.I.I., Vol. III, p. 83 line 19.

organized group of silk weavers came from Lāṭa (South Gujarat). This region has been famous for the solar temples throughout ancient period of Indian history.¹⁵ It is just probable that this tradition of solar temples may have been introduced and popularised in central India by such groups from western India. Since the indigenous names of Bhāskara and Savitr are used it appears that there has been indigenous tradition of solar temples—a fact which has also been brought to light by the Indor copper Plate Inscription. This evidence gives 437 A.D. as the date for the establishment of a solar temple which may be taken as the earliest positive evidence for the establishment of a solar temple. This visible monument of solar worship was a result of the collective effort of the guild—a fact which shows that there had been a group of followers of solar-sect and cult as early as the last quarter of fourth century A.D. because silkweavers of Lāṭa who established this solar temple in 437 A.D. at Mandasor must have been long before sun-worshippers and familiar with the tradition of solar temples and images.

The Khoh Copper Plate Inscription¹⁶ of the Mahārāja Sarvanātha (dated 512-13 A.D.) contains references to the Sun-worship. The object of it is to record the grant by the Mahārāja Sarvanātha of the village of Āsramaka on the north bank of river Tamasā on the agreement—between him and the grantees, that it was to be applied to, amongst other things, the purposes of a shrine of Viṣṇu and Sun. There is reference to different articles used in the daily worship such as *bali*, *charu*, *sattra*, perfumes incense, garlands and lamps.¹⁷ It thus shows full-fledged theism of the Sun-worshippers. Since Viṣṇu and Āditya are mentioned separately it is clear that both had separate existence, temples of their own and followers. All these may be taken as demonstrating the solar sectarianism, though there is no mention of the exclusive supremacy of the Sun-god. Moreover the grant by a king for two temples of different gods and its maintenance by public shows the liberal attitude of Indians. Khoh has been located in Nagod of Central India. Thus the solar worship was quite popular in central India in the beginning of the 6th century A.D.

The Gwalior stone inscription of Mihirkula¹⁸ may also be regarded as an inscription of solar worship. Here the Sun-god has been invoked in his aspect of daymaker, dispeller of darkness having

15. Sankalia, H.D., *Archaeology of Gujarat and Kathiawar*, p. 59-60.

16. Fleet, J.F., C.I.I., Vol. III, p. 125-129.

17. *Shihāpitaka-bhagavat-pādanām āditisā-bhattāraka-pādanām = cha khandaphuttapratīsaṁ-skāra-karanāya va (ba) li-charu-sattra gandhadhūpa-mālyā-dīpa-pravarttanāya ch = (d) tisrīshatah* [] line-15 and 16 of Khoh Copper Plate Inscription. Fleet has rightly taken Āditya for 'Āditīsa'.

18. Fleet, J.F., C.I.I., Vol. III, p. 161-64.

a wheeled-chariot of horses. He dispells distress also.¹⁹ Such descriptions of the Sun-god are quite common in the Vedic as well as Purāṇic literature.²⁰ Further this inscription records the building of a stone temple of the Sun under the name of Bhānu by a person named Mātrīceta on the mountain called Gop²¹, the hill on which Gwalior fortress stands. In Purāṇic fashion it is said that those who cause to be made an excellent house of the Sun, like in lustre to the rays of the moon, their abode is in heaven.²² It appears as the author of the inscription refers to it as a famous proclamation of true religion (*śaḍ-dharmma-khyāpanam*). Further sectarianism is again hinted at when it is said that this temple of Sun will endure as long as Sun and Viṣṇu, thus showing that the Sun-god is not inferior to these twain sectarian gods. This inscription gives another instance of a solar temple of indigenous tradition as appears from the indigenous name 'Bhānu' in central India in the sixth century A.D.

The Shahpur stone image Inscription of Ādityasena²³ (672-73 A.D.) is on 'the pedestal of a standing image of the sun, represented as a man, 2'-10" high, holding a water lily in each hand and with, on each hand, a small standing figure, that on the right being armed with a club'. The occasion for the writing of this inscription was the installation of the image by the Balādhikṛita Sālpaksha in the Agrahara of Nalanda (Bihar) when Ādityasena of later Gupta dynasty was ruling. Firstly, the significance of this inscription for solar worship lies in the fact that it shows that royal patronage was available to solar-cult, that is why a high government official like Balādhikṛita (commander of the troops) Sālapaksha made the gift. The name of the king Ādityasena may be indicative of his leaning towards solar (Āditya) cult. Further it shows the extension of the popularity of the solar cult to Bihar by the beginning of the seventh century A.D. A number of Sūrya images of standing type has been found from all over India in ancient period.²⁴

19. (OM) (ii) (ja) *yati Jalada-vāla-dhvantam utsār-ayan = svaiḥ kirana-nivaha-jalair = Vyōma vidōtayaadbhiḥ U(ḍaya-gr) r(i)-tatāgra(m) mandayan yas = tura(n) gaih chakita-gamana-kheda-bharānta-chamcat-sat-antaih /*
(ii) *udayag (i) or(i).*

20. Cf. Macdonell. A. A., *Vedic Mythology*, p. 30. R. V. 1-175-4, IV-30-4, IV-28-2, V-29-10, Viṣṇu Purāṇa-II-2-2 to 7, II-10-1.

21. Mātrīchetah parvea.... Vastavyah (ii) *Nānā-dhātri-vichitrē Gop-Ahwaya-nāmnī bhū-dharē ramagē Kṛitavān = śallamay-am bhānōh prāsāda-vara-mukhyam.*

22.pā(?) *dēna (ii) ye Kāryante bhānōs = Chandr-amsu-sama-prabham griha-pravaram tēshām vasah svarggā yāvat = Kalpa-Kshayo bhavati / /*

23. Fleet, J. F., C. I. I., Vol. III, p. 208-210.

24. For instance, Mathura Museum Fig. No. 595, 1256, 2339 are standing Sūrya images cf. Agarwal V. S., *Mathura Museum Catalogue*, the Kumarpur and Niyamatpur figures are also examples of standing Sūrya images on pedestals. Cf. Sarawati, S. K., *Early Sculpture of Bengal*, p. 12.

The Deo Barnark Inscription of Jivitagupta II²⁵ (a later Gupta king of Magadha) gives an interesting aspect of Sun-worship in the sense that here the grant of village either Vāruṇika or Kisorvātaka has been recorded for the Sun-god under the title of Varuṇa-Vāsin. This name of the Sun-god is of special importance because it preserves the old Ṛgvedic tradition which originally regards Varuṇa—the all encompassing Sky as one of the twelve Ādityas—forms of the sun.²⁶ This epigraphical evidence confirms the Rīgvedic tradition that originally Varuṇa was connected, if not identical, with the Sun-god. This again shows the popularity of the Sun-worship of indigenous type in Bihar. Even two special festivals in honour of the sun still take place in Deobarnark (Shahabad District Bihar) on the sixth day of the first fortnight of the months Chaitra and Kārtika.²⁷

The Nirmand Copper plate inscription of Mahāsāmanta and Mahārāja Samudrasena²⁸ informs us that the personality of Sun-god under the name of Mihir (Mitra) was merged with Lord 'Śiva' and some form or other of the solarworship was combined with the śaiva rites as is evident by the name of śiva as Mihireśvara in place of Kapāleśvara.²⁹ Since there is reference to a temple of Mihireśvara by Mihiralakṣmi and a grant of a village Sulisagrāma for the purpose of giving *bali*, *charu*, *sattra*, garland, incense etc. to god Mihireśvara to Brāhmaṇas studying Atharvaveda, it appears that the cult of Mithra was mixed up with the cult of Śiva in Punjab because after the advent of Magians in Punjab³⁰, the cult of Sun-god under the name of Mithra must have gained momentum³¹ and Śaivas had to compromise with them so that they may not loose ground. Such a spirit of compromise is quite popular in ancient Indian history of religions. The worship of Śiva and Sun jointly

25. Fleet, J.F., C.I.I., Vol. III, p. 213-18.

26. Macdonell, A.A., *Vedic Mythology*, Keith, A.B., *The Religion and Philosophy of Veda and Upaniṣad*, Vol. I, p. 94-104, Monier Williams-*Indian Wisdom*, pp. 12-f & 68. Muir, J., *Original Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. I, p. 27, note 42. Pt. K. C. Chattopadhyaya regards Varuṇa in Ṛgveda as the nocturnal sun, cf. Pandey, Dr. G. C., *Studies in the Origins of Buddhism*.

27. Cf. Arch. Surv. Ind. Vol. XVI, p. 72.

28. Fleet, J.F., C.I.I., Vol. III, pp. 288-89.

29. ... Mahārāja—Śrī Samudrasenō Jananī Śrī Mihiralakṣmīyā dharmma-ārthan bhagvatas = Tripurāntakasya lōka-āloka-karasya-pranat-ānukampinas = saryadukha-kṣaya-karō kapāleśvare janani-pratishthitasya Śrī Mihireśvaresya Kapāleśvara-va (ba) li-charu-sat, (t) ra-srag-dhūpa-dīpi (pa)-dānāya satatam sirna-khanda-sphutitāsādanāya, cha-nirmand-āgrahār-Ātharvāna-Vrā (bra) hmana-stomayāya Sulisagrāma-nava. Vaidilakaramma-ānta-Vakkhālīka-kutumvi (mbi) nā....

30. Bhavīṣya Purāṇa, Ch. 139, Varāha, Sāmba, Varāhamihir etc. refer to the legend of the advent of magas in India cf. Hazra, R.C., *Studies in Upa-Purāṇas* I. pp. 29-33. Barth, A.—*Religions of India*, pp. 257-58.

31. Bhandarkar, R.G., *Vaisnavism, Saivism and Minor Religious Systems*, p. 219. Jairazbhoy—*Foreign Influence in India*, p. 153, Frank Cumont *Mysteries of Mithra*.

can be traced in indigenous literature³², and in Hinduised Java³³ and Bali such worship was quite popular. It is no surprise if in Punjab which must have been a stronghold of Magian cult of Mithraism³⁴ the Sun-god under the name of Mihir was taken into the fold of Śaivism. It is significant to point out that Brāhmaṇas of Atharvavedic traditions³⁵, (not of the orthodox Vedic tradition) have been associated with this cult where Śiva (probably an indigenous³⁶ deity? non-Aryan?) and Mihira (the Sun-god of Magian priests of Iran³⁷) have been associated together and a public worship in this aspect is referred to. There are a few names of this family such as Raviṣeṇa, Mihir Lakṣmin, Varuṇasena which may be interpreted as referring to the fact that the solar faith was a popular creed in this family.

The epigraphical evidence confirms the view that the royal patronage was available to the cult of the Sun-god. Two inscriptions are to be noted here. The Maliya Copper Plate Inscription of Mahārāja Dharāsena³⁸ II (571-72 A.D.) informs us that Mahārāja Dharāpatta of the Maitraka dynasty of Vallabhi was a most devout worshipper of the Sun (Paramāditya-bhaktaḥ). The region of Kathiawad where this inscription is found has been famous for the solar worship.³⁹ It is interesting to find that the name of the ruling family is Maitrakas—a derivative of Mitra—the solar deity of Indo-Iranian tradition.⁴⁰ This dynasty has been held as identical with the Mihirclan of the Hunas⁴¹ of which Mihirkula was connected with the Sun-worship. It appears as if the Mihirclan also derived its name from the god Mihir—the solar God of Iranian origins. It appears that the Maitraka family which may have been the Indianised form of the Mihirclan of the Hunas was specially devoted to the Sun-god as most of the kins except Dharāpatta who has been directly called sun-worshipper are

32. *Matsya-Purāṇa*, LV-3-5. *Brahma-Purāṇa* 33-II-14 *Saura-Purāṇa*-2. The literary tradition finds confirmation in Iconography, J.N. Bannerje *Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 551.

33. For instance Surya-Sevana is nothing but worship of Śiva under the name of Sūrya in Java—See D. K. Biswas—*Sūrya & Śiva*-I. H.Q. 1948, p. 142 and R.C. Majumdar—*Suvarṇadvīpa*, Vol. II. Friedarich, R., *The Civilization and Culture of Bali*.

34. Beals, S., *Buddhist Record of the Western World*, Vol. II, pp. 274-5. Hiuent-sang informs us that Multan (Punjab) had a Sun-temple where annual sun-worship was done with great pomp and show.

35. Winternitz—*A History of Indian Literature*, p. 129. Atharvaveda was originally not included in the category of a sacred Veda, hence the tradition of three Vedas only. Probably Atharvaveda represented the popular side of religion—Griffith, A.V., *Trans. Intro.*-VIII-IX.

36. Sastri, N.K., *Cul. Her. of India*, Vol. III.

37. Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, pp. 187-91, *The Treasure of Magi*, p. 9, F. Cumont, *Mysteries of Mithra*.

38. Fleet, J.F., *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, pp. 164-71.

39. Sankalia, H.D. *Archaeology of Gujrat*, p. 39ff.

40. Macdonell, A.A., *Vedic Mythology*, p. 30; Keith, A.B., *The Religion and Philosophy of Veda and Upanisad*, Vol. I. Hopkins, *Religions of India*, p. 71.

Frazer, J.G., *Worship of Nature*, p. 450.

41. Fleet, J.F., *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, *Intro.* p. 12.

regarded as devotee of Viṣṇu who himself was an aspect of the Sun-god originally.⁴² The Vardhana dynasty of Thaneswara also appears to have patronized the solar cult. The Sonpat Copper seal Inscription⁴³ of Harshavardhana gives the epithet of *Paramāditya bhaktaḥ* to Rājya-Vardhana, Adityavardhana and Prabhākara-vardhana.

Thus the literary traditions of the Sun-worship find confirmation and echo in these Gupta and Post-Gupta inscriptions which strengthen the hands of historians. These inscriptions reveal to us that the Sun-god was worshipped under the names of Āditya, Bhānu, Bhāskara, Savitr, Mihir and Varuṇa Vāsin for physical and mental peace and prosperity. It appears that the indigenous tradition of solar worship was continuing as is evident from these names; though Magian influence can be seen here and there as the name Mihir reveals. By this time the erection of Sun temples and images has been an established practice. The sectarian form of the Sun-worship is revealed by the description of Sun-god as the cause of creation and destruction to whom sole devotions were given by all classes of Indian society. The solar-cult was receiving patronage from kings, courtiers business men etc. It was popular in Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Bengal and Gujarat and Central India. Thus the whole of Northern India was under the influence of solar cult. The spirit of compromise and gradual rapprochement so characteristic of Indian religions may be seen in this cult also as Śiva, Sun and Viṣṇu have been worshipped jointly occasionally. Thus the epigraphical evidence has confirmed the ideas, beliefs and practices of solar worship in broad outlines as revealed by the Indian literature.

42. Hopkins—JAOS, Vol. XVI, pp. 275-81. Keith—*The Religions and Philosophy of Veda and Upanishad*, Vol. I, p. 109. Gonda J., *Aspects of Early Vishnuism* p. 26ff.

43. Fleet, J.F., *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, pp. 219-221.

TWENTIETH CENTURY SANSKRIT DRAMAS —TRENDS AND TENDENCIES

By
USHA

Sanskrit playwrights are generally believed to be tradition-ridden. True, they are to a very great extent. All along the course of Indian history they have been following the dramaturgical rules of the ancient sage Bharata in letter and in spirit. There has been little of deviation or departure. The net result of all this has been that the Indian drama in the ancient and the medieval ages, and even down to the beginning of the twentieth century has been very much a stereotyped affair so far as language, technique and style are concerned. It is only in the present century and here too after the twenties and the thirties that a Sanskritist has ventured to bypass or ignore or even flout the rules of Bharata and loosen his stranglehold on the drama. A fresh wind of change is sweeping over the Sanskrit world where a break with the past is clearly discernible. The twentieth century Sanskrit playwright living in and working in the modern scientific and technological age is well disposed to making experiments and introducing certain changes in his plays in keeping with the demands of the age. There are clearly certain trends and tendencies in it which point to Sanskrit drama shedding off its rigidity of exterior and developing a pliability which goes well with a class of literature which is growing and developing fast incorporating into it many changes and yet maintaining a continuity with the past.

Absence of Prakrit:

Bharata lays down the use of Prakrit by certain characters like women, jester, servants etc. in a play. This was when Prakrit was spoken and understood along with Sanskrit. Sanskrit playwrights in obedience to this rule made Prakrit an essential and inseparable part of their plays even long after Prakrit had ceased to be effective medium of expression. Sanskrit continued to be patronized by people (though their number was not very large) while Prakrit was forgotten and became unintelligible. Of late a tendency is visible in Sanskrit dramas either to avoid Prakrit or to replace it with modern vernaculars. The credit for the omission of Prakrit goes to the Orissa scholar Pandit Sudarshan Pathi, the famous playwright.

All of his three plays, *Siṃhalavijayam*¹, *Karuṇāpārijātam*², and *Pādukāvijayam*³ are in Sanskrit alone. Similarly the two farces of the Nagpur scholar Skandashankar Sharma Khot, *Lālāvidyam*⁴, *Mālābhaviṣyam*⁵ and one by his wife, Kamala Khot, *Dhruvāvatāram*⁶, have no Prakrit. In his *Bhūbhāroddharaṇam*⁷ Mathura Prasad Dikshit puts Hindi in place of Prakrit. In another of his plays the *Bhāratavijayam*⁸ he uses Newari (the language of Nepal) instead. In the *Pāṇinīyanātakam*⁹ Gopalashstri, Darśana Kesari employs Bhojpuri in place of Prakrit.

Changes in expression.

With regard to Sanskrit too there is a tendency to shed off puritanism and incorporate into it certain foreign words either by Sanskritizing them or otherwise. It is not uncommon to find in modern Sanskrit plays such English words as *badminton*, *tennis*, *police*, *radio*, *station*, *bus* etc.

Changes in technique.

In techniques too some Sanskrit dramas present a break with the past. Like the western dramas the acts have now come to be divided into scenes. The examples are *Karuṇāpārijātam* and *Lālāvidyam* and the works of J. B. Chaudhari.¹⁰ The Nāndī and the Bharatavākyaṃ, once an indispensable part of a drama, have now come to be dropped. The trend is now visible which considers Prastāvanā (prologue) as superfluous. On account of the increasing preoccupations of the modern age the playwrights in all languages are inclined to write shorter plays, especially one act plays, to entertain the audience. The Sanskritist too is not unaffected by this tendency. The one act plays, once non-existent in Sanskrit or very rare, have now become more frequent. Radio plays too have

1. Published by the author, 1951.
2. Published by the author, 1952.
3. Staged in Puri, 1948.
4. Published by Kamala Khot, Dharmapi, Nagpur, 1956.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Published by the author, Samvat 2016.
8. Published by the author, Samvat 2009.
9. Chowkhamba Vidya Bhawan, Varanasi, 1964.
10. (i) *Mahimayabhāratam*
 (ii) *Bhāratahrdayāravindam*.
 (iii) *Śaktiśāradam*.
 (iv) *Mahāprabhuharidāsam*.
 (v) *Vimalayatindram*.
 (vi) *Ānandarādhām*.
 (vii) *Bhāskarodayam*.
 (viii) *Dinadāsaraghunātham*.
 (ix) *Śrīrīprativīṣṇupriyam*.
 (x) *Yatīndrarāmānujam*.

(Plays (i)-(vii) published under Prācyavaṇī Sanskrit Series, Calcutta. Plays (viii)-(ix) published in the Mañjūṣā, Vol. XVI, 1961. Play (x) staged in New Delhi in 1962, still in the manuscript form.

come to be written and broadcast over the various stations of the A.I.R. The shadow plays like *Chāyāśākuntalam* by J. T. Parikh have also come to be written.

Shrimati Leela Row Dayal, wife of the late Indian ambassador to Nepal and a versatile author of Sanskrit plays the number of which goes well over to twenty, has developed a technique of her own in the staging of the Sanskrit plays. She has produced all of her plays without stage or props and with the minimum of equipment. She uses different parts of her garden either in a pergola or by a tree or just a grass lawn. There is very little or no make-up. The costumes too are simple and so is the language used in the play. She strives to make the performance intimate; the very sound of the words indicating the moods. No performance of her's lasts more than an hour. On account of this oversimplification of the process of production we can easily stage her plays, enjoy their open air performance, if we are interested in them.

The credit for introducing western style operas on the Sanskrit scene goes to the indefatigable Dr. Raghavan, the famous author of a number of works. His *Rāsālilā*¹¹, *Prekṣaṇakatrayī*¹², *Lakṣmīsvayam-varaḥ*¹³, *Kāmaśuddhiḥ*¹⁴ and *Vimuktiḥ*¹⁵ can easily go down as landmarks in the field of Sanskrit drama.

New themes

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Gone are the days when a Sanskritist looked to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* or the *Purāṇas* only for his themes. With his creative intellect freed from the shackles of tradition by the very force of the age he is constantly in quest of newer and newer themes and has no dearth of them when he casts a floating glance at the vast canvas of history. He finds there kings and queens, their saga of romance, their stories of bravery, whose appeal transcends all barriers of time and space. He then sets about his work. Sometimes he writes about Alauddin Khilji¹⁶ and at other times the great Moghul Akbar.¹⁷ The immortal saga of Anarkali's romance¹⁸ too inspires him and fills him with delight. On the story of Kālidāsa are based the two plays *Kālidāśacarita*¹⁹ by S. B. Velankar and *Mahākavi-kālidāsam*²⁰ by Śrījiva Nyāyatīrtha. On Delhi Durbar we have a play in Sanskrit *Delhisāmrajyā*²¹ by Mahāmahopādhyāya Lakṣmaṇa Sūri of Madras.

11. The Saṃskṛta Rāṅga Annual, Madras, 1963.

12. Published by the author, 1956.

13. The Saṃskṛta Rāṅga Annual, Madras, 1959.

14. The Saṃskṛta Rāṅga Annual, Madras, 1963.

15. Saṃskṛta Pratibhā, Vol. IV, No. 2, 1964.

16. Tampi, V. K., *Three Plays in Sanskrit*, Sundar Bharati Hall, Trivandrum, 1924.

17. Broadcast from A.I.R., New Delhi, 1963.

18. Dr. Raghavan's work, still in the manuscript form.

19. Gīrvāṇasudhā Prakāśana, Bombay, 1961.

20. Pranava Pārijāta, Calcutta, Oct.-Nov. 1963—April-May, 1964.

21. Published from Madras, 1912.

Connected with this is the growing tendency among Sanskrit scholars to adopt the burning problems of the day as their themes. They no longer want to confine themselves to mythology or ancient history. They, like their counterparts in other languages, want to come to grips with the current problems in which the people must naturally have more interest. It is as a result of this that we have come to have such plays as *Kāśmīrasandhānasamudiyamah*²² and *Hyderābādaviṣayam*²³ by the Andhra scholar Nirpaje Bhimbhatta on the problems of Kashmir and the integration of Hyderabad respectively as also *Mahimayabhāratam*²⁴, a play on the irrigation policy of India by the Calcutta scholar J. B. Chaudhari. On the social problem of dowry we have a beautiful play *Vidhiviparyāsam*²⁵ by the West Bengal scholar Śrījīva Nyāyatīrtha, a prolific writer, the well known author of about twenty plays in Sanskrit all of which have had the honour of being staged, some of them even twice or thrice. The periodic news in the papers about the change of sex too has tickled the imagination of the Sanskrit playwright. We have on this topic a few very interesting plays like *Sāmavātam*²⁶ by the Benaras scholar Ambikādatta Vyāsa, an author of distinction, *Puruṣaramaṇīyam* by Śrījīva Nyāyatīrtha referred to above and *Śrīgāraṇārāḍīyam*²⁷ by the Madras scholar Y. Mahalinga Sastri, an author of about half a dozen plays in Sanskrit most of which are farces or satires. Gandhian philosophy has apparently inspired Sudarshan Pathi in his *Karuṇāpārijātam*²⁸ where he refers to plough and the *charkha* as the twin weapons in the fight for the destruction of the abject poverty of the teeming millions of India and speaks of the awakening among the Adivasis and the establishment of the Panchayat Raj. In *Bhārataviṣayam*²⁹ we have a complete history of India from the coming of East India Company down to the attainment of independence in 1947. Then comes *Parīṇāmah*³⁰, a great play with a modern theme, written by Chudanath Bhattaraya, Principal, Government Sanskrit College, Kathmandu and Rajpandit, Nepal. This play is claimed a classic by critics. It is a tragedy in contravention of the rules of Bharata and has in it a very illuminating discussion on the philosophy of such Western stalwarts as Kant and Hegel, as also on Communism, Socialism, Democracy and Humanism showing the author's intimate knowledge of the various systems, Eastern and Western.

22. Amṛtavāṇī, Bangalore, Vol. XIII, 1954.

23. Ibid.

24. Prācyavāṇī Sanskrit Series, Vol. XXXI, Calcutta, 1960.

25. Published by Janakijivana Bhattacharya, Bengal era, 1956.

26. Published by Krishna Kumar Vyasa, Vyasa Pustakalaya, Man. Mandir, Benaras, 1947.

27. Published by the author, Sahitya Chandraśālā, Tiruvalangadu (Tanjore), 1956.

28. Referred to earlier.

29. Referred to earlier.

30. Published by Nutanashri, Kathmandu, Nepal, Samvat 2016.

Songs:

Of late Sanskrit playwrights have shown an increasing tendency of going in for songs in their plays. In older plays a verse here or a verse there would be sung but now in some plays we have lengthy songs which are not unoften accompanied by an indication of the *rāgas* in which they are to be sung. Thus we have come to have musical dramas like the *Saṅgītasaubhadram*³¹ and *Kālidāsa-cāritam*³² by the famous Maharashtrian scholar Velankar. The Baroda scholar Mulshanker Maneklal Yajnik in his three historical plays *Saṅyogitāsvayamvaram*³³, *Chatrapatisāmrajyam*³⁴ and *Pratāpavijayam*³⁵, has given the technical details about his songs their *tāla*, *sthāyi* and *antarā*; their notes etc. at the end. In his *Rāsālilā*³⁶ the great musicologist Dr. Raghavan has deftly woven into his verses the names of the *rāgas* too in which the verses are to be sung while the directions also precede them. In the *Parivartanam*³⁷ Kapila Deva Dwivedi has modelled his songs in language and as well as on the mode of singing on the songs of the famous *Gītāgovinda* of Jayadeva. J. B. Chaudhari's plays abound in songs of devotion which in character and form approach very nearly the *stotras* of old. A peculiarity of the songs appearing in Sanskrit plays which cannot go unnoticed is their free style. They are, most of them, *muktakas* and are not like other verses which have one or the other metre.

Translations and adaptations:

Of late there is an increasing awareness on the part of modern Sanskritists to enrich the Sanskrit literature by translations of some Indian and foreign classics or their adaptations. It is this which is responsible for giving us the Sanskrit translations of some of the plays of as great a Western playwright as Shakespeare, like *As You Like It*³⁸ and *Hamlet*³⁹. Dr. Shama Shastri of Mysore translated into Sanskrit the German play *Amelia Galetti*⁴⁰ by the well known German playwright Lessing. S. N. Tadapatrikar's *Viśvamohanam*⁴¹ is based on Goethé's immortal classic *The Faust*. Similarly based on *The Cup* of Tennyson is the *Kamalāvijayanāṭakam*⁴² of the Mysorian scholar Venkataramanarya. Among the translations or adaptations of the Indian classics in Sanskrit mention may first be made of

31. Gīrvāṇasudhā Prakāśana, Bombay, 1961.

32. Ibid.

33. Published by the author, 1928.

34. Published by the author, 1929.

35. Published by the author, 1931.

36. The Samskrita Raṅga Annual, 1963.

37. Published by the author, Lucknow, Samvat 2008.

38. Laghukāvya-māla Series, No. 2, Madras, 1924.

39. Ibid.

40. Journal of Maharaja's Sanskrit College, Mysore, Vol. vii, 1931.

41. Oriental Book Agency, Poona, 1951.

42. Published by the author, Mysore, 1936.

*Ratharajjuh*⁴³ which is a translation from original Bengali into Sanskrit of the Tagore's famous play *Kaler Yatra* by Bimal Krishna Motilal. Next we may mention *Unmattakicakam*⁴⁴ which is a Sanskrit rendering by K. S. Nagarajan of the well known Kannada classic *Kicakam* by Tyagaraja Paramasiva Kailasa. *Saṅgītasaubhadram*, referred to earlier too, is a Sanskrit rendering by S. B. Velankar of the original Marathi play of the same title by Annasaheb Kirloskar. The very recent play *Pṛthvivallabham*⁴⁵ by Balakrishna Limaye has for its theme one of the Gujarati stories of K. M. Munshi. This tendency of translations and adaptations is very welcome one and if it grows it is bound to prove most fruitful.

Conclusion:

Thus we see the opening up of the new horizons on the field of Sanskrit dramatics. There are trends and tendencies in it which point to its bright future. Some of these may yet be in a nebulous stage. Still they are very much there. If allowed to grow they are sure to bring new dimensions to the already great Sanskrit drama.

43. Sanskrit Sahitya Parishat, Calcutta, 1961.

44. Bharatavani Series, No. 1, Bharatavani Office, Poona, 1960.

45. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1964.

AN EARLY PRATIHĀRA TEMPLE AT BUCHKALĀ

By

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Distant about 32 miles from Jodhpur is situated the village Buchkalā, so well known for the relics of two Brahmanic temples. Both of them are situated on the road side and face each other. They were briefly noticed by D. R. Bhandarkar in the *Progress Report of Archaeological Survey of India—Western Circle, Poona for the year ending March 1907*, p. 38. It is proposed to present a brief survey of the early ninth century Viṣṇu Temples of this place as they are sufficiently important for the study of early-Pratihāra Art of Jodhpur region.

The larger edifice at Buchkalā is called the Pārvatī Temple and does not enshrine any image in the sanctum. Lying in a deserted condition, it faces West which is quite unusual for a *Vaiṣṇava* structure.

The open hall (i.e. *Sabhāmaṇḍapa*) in front of the main shrine of Pārvatī Temple at Buchkalā was provided with several square pillars devoid of any particular floral or figural carvings; the brackets above were also plain and simple. The top of the open hall is completely missing and so also the *āmalaśāra* and the *Kalaśa* of the main shrine. It was, of course, a Śikhara Temple built in the typical early Pratihāra style (Figs. 1-2). Seven pillars of the rectangular hall are still surviving. On one of the pilasters (to right) of shrine wall is an interesting inscription of 20 lines and bearing the date as "fifth day of the bright half of Chaitra month, of Vikrama Year 872" i.e. 815 A.D. It covers a space about 28½ inches in height and 11½ inches in width. Engraved in the Northern Kuṭila script, its language is Sanskrit. The purport of the inscription however is not quite clear. Something is said to have been set up (*niveśita*) but what that was, we cannot ascertain. This something, we are told, was set up after the construction of the 'temple' for which the word *Devagrha* has been used in the inscription. It is further added that something was set up after the building of the temple and worshipping the feet of *Parameśvara*, in the village *Rājyaghaṅgakam*, by queen Jayāvalī, daughter of Jaijaka, who was himself a son of the Pratihāra Bapuka and wife of Bhumbhuvaka, son of Hara Gupta of the Avāṅganaka family. Jayāvalī has been spoken as a queen (*rājñī*) quite specifically; her husband was therefore probably some Pratihāra Chieftain who acknowledged the supremacy of Imperial Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭa II—son of Vatsa

Rāja.¹ In fact this is the earliest extant dated record for Nāga-bhaṭa II.²

D. R. Bhandarkar³ has also suggested, of course quite tentatively, that *Rājyaghaṅgakam* of this inscription is probably, the old name of village Buchkalā itself. Reference to the name of *sūtra-dhāra* (architect) Deīā, son of Pañchahari towards the end of lines 19-20 is also interesting. It is just possible that he was responsible for the construction of this temple, towards the beginning of 9th century A.D. It is also evident that this religious edifice had been completed by the *Vikrama* Year 872 (= 815 A.D.); it was in existence at this stage.

The above inscription of 815 A.D. refers to the deity as *Parameśvara* which normally means 'Śiva'. D. R. Bhandarkar⁴ has rightly suggested that it was a *Viṣṇu Temple*. This is very well confirmed by the images studded in the exterior niches of the shrine (Figs. 3,1,5); they represent Trivikrama towards South (Fig. 3), Nṛsiṃha towards North (Fig. 4) and seated Viṣṇu in the niche facing East (Fig. 5). The last figure, in the main back niche, represents Yoga-Nārāyaṇa in *padmāsana* and not Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa. He carries a lotus and a wheel in upper right and left hands respectively; the lower left holds a conch whereas the right lower hand is stretched below in *varada* pose (Fig. 5). It may also be noted that the cult of Yoga-Nārāyaṇa was very popular during the early-Pratihāra period; one such image is now preserved in the principal back niche of the Śiva Temple at Bhunḍānā in Jodhpur region. Besides this, we are aware of two interesting images of Yoga Nārāyaṇa, from the early Pratihāra centres like Diḍawānā and Ābānerī, wherein the deity holds the garland in the upper hands, the lower two hands having been placed in *baddhāñjali* pose.⁵ It appears that the existing temple at Buchkalā was originally dedicated to Viṣṇu and not Śiva; all the exterior niches of the sanctum thereof enshrine *Vaiṣṇava* reliefs. The epithet *Parameśvara* therefore should denote none else but Viṣṇu in this case.

The back portion of the sanctum of Pārvatī Temple at Buchkalā contains only 3 niches, one facing each direction. The basement is quite plain and simple; below the niches appear a single row of *chaitya* arches at regular intervals. Each of these niches are further decorated by *chaitya* motif surmounted by a graphic row of half lotus flowers with chain & bell design on all the three sides as we also notice on the exteriors of most of the early Pratihāra Temples at Osiān and Roḍā. The *jaṅghā* portion of Buchkalā temple is quite plain

1. D.R. Bhandarkar, *Epigraphia Indica*, IX, pp. 198-200.

2. R.S. Tripathi, *History of Kannauj*, 1937, Benaras, pp. 230-31.

3. *Epigraphia Indica*, IX, pp. 198-200.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 200.

5. R.C. Agrawala's papers in the *Journal of Indian Museums*, Bombay, X, pp. 21-22, Fig. 5; *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, Bombay, XXV (3-4), 1965, p. 44, Fig. 1.



Fig. 1. Pārvaṭī Temple at Buchkalā; view from South; the Temple faces West. Early 9th century A.D. It is in fact a Viṣṇu Temple.



Fig. 12. General view of 9th century Temples at Buchkalā; to left is Śiva Temple under worship; to right is the deserted edifice which was once a Viṣṇu Temple; Mahā Māru style.

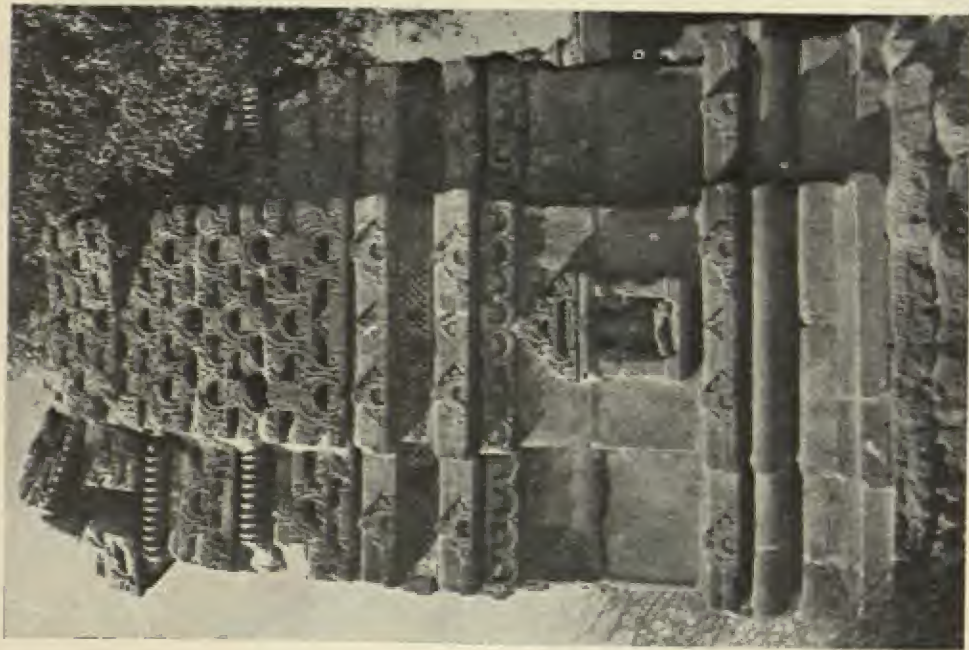


Fig. 2. Back view of Pārvaṭī Temple at Buchkalā.



Fig. 3. Trivikrama in the southern niche of Pārvaṭī Temple at Buchkalā.



Fig. 4. Nrsimha in the Northern niche of Pārvatī Temple at Buchkalā.



Fig. 5. Seated Vishnu in meditating pose; Pārvatī Temple at Buchkalā; main image in the Eastern niche on the exterior of Temple.



Fig. 6. General view of the doorways of sanctum; Pārvaṭī Temple at Buchkalā.



Fig. 7. Lower portion of the door jamb towards left. It depicts Gaṅgā standing on a crocodile and Vase-shaped motif below; Pārvaṭī temple at Buchkalā.

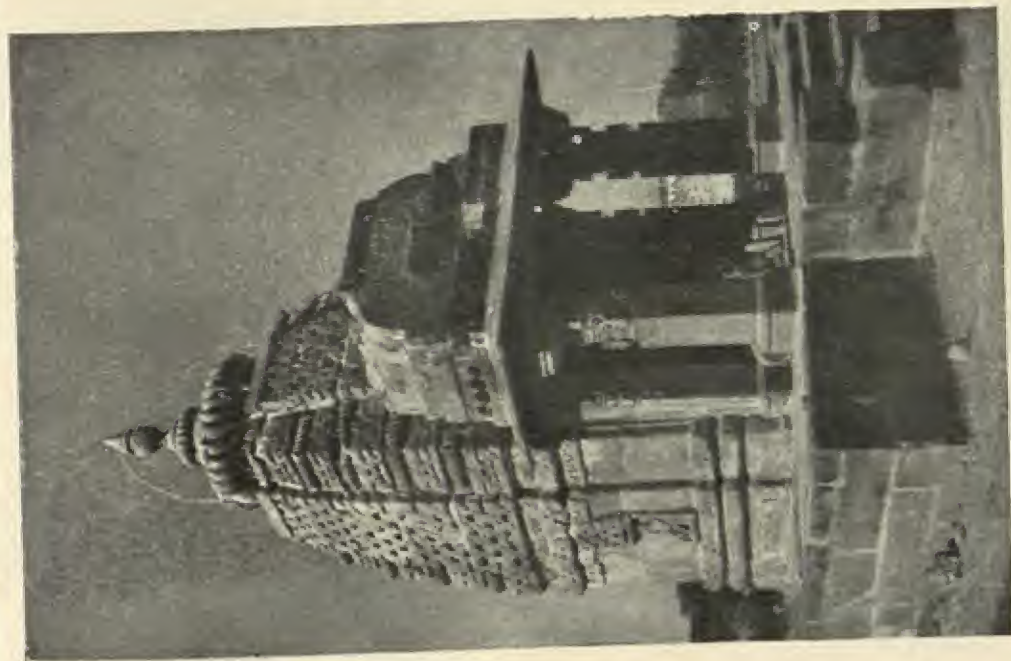


Fig. 8. Temple under worship at Buchkalā; it was a Gaurī Temple; now under worship as a Śiva Temple. It faces East.



Fig. 9. Image of Godhāsana, Gaurī in the principal back niche of Śiva Temple. It was dedicated to this Goddess i.e. Durgā.



Fig. 10. Standing Ganapati in the exterior niche (facing South) of Siva Temple (originally Gauri Temple) at Buchkalā; 9th Century.



Fig. 11. Hari-Hara--composite image of Viṣṇu & Śiva in the northern niche of so called Siva Temple at Buchkalā; face of main deity is peeled off.

and simple (Figs. 1-2) as of early Temples Nos. 1 and 5 at Rodā.⁶ The absence of *dikpālas* etc., therein is worthy of note and so also the successive rows of *Chaitya*, arches, one upon the other, on the lower portion of the *śikhara* (Fig. 2). The entire temple has been built on a raised platform and the height of the Temple probably measured 15 to 20 feet from top to bottom.

The sanctum door-way of Pārvatī Temple at Buchkalā, also deserves due scrutiny (Fig. 6). The entrance slab below is beautifully carved with floral design in the centre and *ghaṭapallava* (vase and foliage) motifs on the sides. It is on these *ghaṭas* that the doorjambs have been so nicely placed on two sides. The lower portions thereof consist of river goddesses standing on their respective vehicles i.e. Gaṅgā on crocodile to left (Fig. 7) and Yamunā on tortoise to right. The doorjambs are of the *Trisākhā* variety and mainly consist of floral and creeper designs; the central portions contain tiny figures of Gaṇeśa (both seated and dancing), two on each side. The lintel above also presents creeper and floral patterns with the image of Gaṇapati having been carved on the central portion and *Kirttmukha* to left. It is therefore evident that there was no representation of Viṣṇu on the lintel of the sanctum doorway as wrongly identified by Bhandarkar. The utter absence of *mithuna* figures on the doorjambs of Pārvatī Temple at Buchkalā, is equally important; the entire complex here is very plain and simple. Was it motivated by economy drive on the part of the builder of the temple?

The aforesaid material⁷ from Buchkalā, though not superb from aesthetic point of view, is a welcome addition to our existing knowledge of Pratihāra remains in Rajasthan.⁸ It is devoid of ornamental and architectural details.

The smaller temple at Buchkalā is situated near the Viṣṇu Temple described above. Under regular worship, the former is called as Śiva Temple. It is devoid of a hall and built on a high platform; it faces east. The basement mouldings are quite plain and simple, and so is the case with the *Jaṅghā* portion. The *Śikhara* is of *Mahā Māru* style. This edifice with square pillars in front may also be dated towards the early ninth century A.D. (Fig. 8), though a later inscription is engraved just in front of the main sanctum. The original image, which was under worship, is now missing but the statue of standing Pārvatī in the principal back niche

6. U.P. Shah, *Bulletin of Baroda Museum*, XIII, Figs. 82, 87, 91. The exteriors of Bādoli Temple (near Kotah) also contain three niches only in the art of 9th century.

7. Most of the sculptures in the niches are in a blurred condition due to weather effect.

8. Photographs of Buchkalā Temple have so kindly been supplied by the Director General, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi. These temples were scrutinised by me in May 1959.

(facing West; Fig. 9) suggests that it was probably a Durgā Temple. This is an interesting statue of four-armed *Devī*, standing on an iguana (*godhā*) and holding the *Śiva-liṅga* and *Gaṇeśa* in upper hands. She is none else but *godhāsanā Gaurī*, a very popular form of goddess 'Pārvatī performing penance' with flames on both sides. It recalls to our minds a 10th century statue of the same goddess, now studded into the interior wall of the sanctum of Harsha Nāth Temple at Sikar (Rajasthan). The goddess, in Sikar relief, carries the same weapons but for the miniature statue of Śiva (seated as *Lakuliṣa* in *Ūrdhvamedhira* pose) seated over a lotus flower in her upper right hand and not the *Śiva-liṅga* as such. This is an unusual iconographic device in the mediaeval art of Rajasthan. Besides this, all around the above Gaurī relief at Sikar appear sculptured panels of 15 *Sura Sundarīs* in placid aspect; some of them are even shown in dancing pose. They may be identified as female attendants [*paricārikās*] of goddess Gaurī, labelled as *Vikaṭā* in the contemporary inscription engraved below. Most of these attendant female figures (inside the sanctum) may also be identified on the basis of similar identification marks on the pedestals below i.e. *Vaijayantī*, *Vasundharā*, *Surāpa* (?), *Salilā*, *Chandraprabhā*, *Nābhila*, *Rātānā*, etc. The existing mode of decorating the interior walls of the sanctum of this 10th century sanctum at Harsha Hill is a landmark in mediaeval Indian Architecture. It may also be remembered that the contemporary inscription of V. S. 1013 from the same Śiva temple refers to *Vikaṭā* and the images of 5 *Pāṇḍavas* inside the subsidiary shrines nearby. In that case, inscriptional reference to the statue of goddess Gaurī, marked as *Vikaṭā*, is quite interesting and appropriate for a Śiva Temple. Let us search for more temples presenting this particular architectural-cum-sculptural device, both inside and outside Rajasthan.

The side niches of the Śiva Temple at Buchkalā contain images of standing 'Gaṇapati' to left (Fig. 10; facing South) and 'Hari-Hara' to right (Fig. 11; facing North). The exteriors of early Pratihāra temples at Osian (near Jodhpur) faithfully present the images of Gaṇapati in the exterior niches. The statue of standing Gaṇeśa from another Pratihāra centre at Abānerī in Rajasthan is equally imposing (*Lalit Kalā*, Nos. 1-2, 1955-56, plate 52, figure 2). Same is the case with Hari Hara. This composite form of Viṣṇu and Śiva appears to have been quite popular at Osian where we find two ancient edifices dedicated to Hari Hara itself. Such reliefs can still be seen inside the principal back niches of these temples of *Pañcāyatana* variety at Osian.

The above temples from Buchkalā in Jodhpur Region (Fig. 12) are therefore welcome additions to the early Pratihāra Art of Rajasthan.

MISCELLANEOUS INFORMATION IN THE MYTHS OF THE SĀMAVEDA BRĀHMAṆAS*

By

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Though the purport of the myths of the Sāmaveda Brāhmaṇas is to explain the Soma sacrifices and lay down the rules pertaining to them, they are undoubtedly reservoirs of information, valuable for scholars of various categories. Therefore, I propose to study herein, the various available data, analyse them, and evaluate the contribution of these myths to the various branches of knowledge.

THE SAGES AND OTHER CONTENTS.

Having studied the various myths dealing with sacrifice in the SV Brāhmaṇas, we now turn to the consideration of the sages, who saw these Sāmans and to the other miscellaneous matters in these Brāhmaṇas.

(A) *Sages and other seers of Sāmans.*

(1) *Abhiśu Syāvāśva*:—He saw Abhiśava Sāman in order to please Soma (JB 3.68).

(2) *Akupāra Āngirasa*:—She is a female seer, who saw the Akupāra Sāman and cured herself of skin disease, called Godha (TMB 9.2.14).

(3) *Andhigu Śāktya*:—He is the seer of the Āndhigava Sāman by which he enabled the Śāktyas to obtain food.¹

(4) *Anūpa Dhitoni*:—He saw the Anūpa Sāman by which he obtained both, Brahma and Kṣatra.² In the TMB³ he is referred to as Vādharyaśva.

(5) *Asita Devala*:—The Asita Sāman was seen by him to obtain a vision of the whole world.⁴

(6) *Ayāśya Āngirasa*:—The derivation of the name is given in a passage of JUB⁵ in the following: āsyē dhīyate ayāśya and Āngirasa imānyaṅgāni rasam labhante tasmād āngirasa. He is a Ṛgvedic sage to whom many hymns of RV have been ascribed.⁶

* Based on the Thesis for Ph.D.

1. JB 1.165.

2. JB 3.97.

3. TMB 13.3.17.

4. TMB 14.11.8.

5. JUB 2.4.2.8.

6. TMB 11.8.8.

In TMB⁷ he is the seer of the Āyāśya Sāman and conquers the sin of consuming food that is not to be consumed. In the JUB⁸ it is stated that Āyāśya Āṅgīraśa was the Udgātr who represented the people. By his chanting, Śaryāta Mānava was endowed with Prāṇa as Prāṇa is Āyāśya. By the power of his chanting, the gods were placed in the world of gods, the Pitṛs in the Pitṛloka and men in the world of men. Another myth states that the gods asked Āyāśya Āṅgīraśa to create Sacrifice and he saw the Dvaigata Pada Nidhana. All these references indicate that Āyāśya who was important among the Vedic seers plays an important part as an Udgātr.

(7) *Cyavana Bhārgava*:—He is the seer of the Cyavana Sāman by which he became youthful again.⁹ According to the myth Cyavana Bhārgava who knew the Vāstupa Brāhmaṇa told his sons to place him in Śaiśava on the banks of the river Sarasvatī to come back. They were afraid that they would be scandalized. But he told them that if they remained there, it would become impossible for him to become young. So he saw the Cyavana Sāman and praised with it. While he was praising some urchins in the tribes of Śaryāta Mānava threw stones etc. on him. Owing to the sin, the Śaryātas were cursed, and all their relations were estranged. So Śaryāta Mānava, later came to know of this. Finally he begged pardon of Cyavana and requested him to choose a boon. Cyavana asked for Sukanyā. But they refused as he was old. Finally after a great deal of coaxing, they got her married to Cyavana. The Āśvins, who were greatly impressed by Sukanyā, desired to avail of this opportunity to win her over. So they one day came to her, and asked Sukanyā, why she had married such an old and imperfect man as Cyavana. She replied that she preferred to stay with the one to whom she had been given by her father. Having heard this reply, the Āśvins were disappointed and went away. In the meanwhile, Sukanyā informed Cyavana of all that happened. So Cyavana told her to inform them that it was actually the Āśvins who were imperfect because they did not have a share in the Soma. They, then made a compromise with Sukanyā that they would make Cyavana young, and that he should in return tell them the means by which they would become drinkers of Soma in the sacrifice. Accordingly, the Āśvins took Cyavana to the Sarasvatī river and they decided that all the three of them should enter the waters and rise and Sukanyā should recognize her husband. They, entered the waters and rose from the water with forms which were equally handsome. Sukanyā, recognized her husband, who was now young

7. JUB 2.3.1.1.

8. JUB 2.3.1.1.

9. JUB 3.120.

and was possessed of a handsome form. The Aśvins said, "Oh sage, we have fulfilled your desire and therefore you have become young. Now you instruct us regarding the means by which we be made drinkers of Soma. So he instructed them in the following manner:

He said, "The gods are performing sacrifice without a head in the Kurukṣetra and hence they do not obtain the fulfilment of their desires. You go to Dadhyac Ātharvaṇa, who knows the cause of this. He will tell you and then you will be included among the drinkers of Soma." So they approached Dadhyac Ātharvaṇa and requested him to inform them regarding the head of the sacrifice. He refused saying that this was seen by Indra, who told this to him and said that if he taught it to anybody else, Indra would cut off his head. The Aśvins, then told him to put on a horse's head and then tell them. Finally, Dadhyac put on the head of a horse and instructed them that the Devas did not perform the Pravargya rite at the beginning of the sacrifice, so they did not obtain their desires. While he was instructing them, the head was cut off and it was the horse's head and not Dadhyac's head. Then the Aśvins went to the gods, who were performing a headless sacrifice at Kurukṣetra, and told them that they had seen the head of the sacrifice. They made him the Adhvaryu and the Aśvins, thus became the drinkers of Soma.

Now Cyavana Bhārgava became young and went to Śaryāta Mānava; who gave him a thousand (coins or cows) and asked him to perform a sacrifice. Cyavana saw the Cyāvana Sāman by which all his desires were fulfilled.¹⁰

(8) *Dadhyac Ātharvaṇa*:—The sage who explained to the Aśvins the knowledge of Pravargya or the means to make the sacrifice possessed of a head (JB 3.126).

(9) *Dāvasu Āṅgīrasa*:—He is the seer of Dāvasu Nidhana.¹¹

(10) *Devātithi*:—He saw the Daivātitha Sāman in order to obtain food as he along with his progeny, was famished (TMB 9.2.19).

(11) *Divodāsa*:—He is a Rgvedic King. He was the son of Vadhryaśva. He saw the Daivodāsa Sāman, by which he became a King and then a sage (JB 1.221). In the TMB¹² it is stated that the Bharadvājas were his priests.

(12) *Dvīgata Bhārgava*:—He is the seer of the Dvaigata Sāman by which he went twice to the heavenly world (TMB 14.9.31).

(13) *Gaurīviti Śāktya*:—He belongs to the Śāktya Gotra. He is a Vedic Seer.¹³ He is frequently mentioned in the other Brāh-

10. JB 3.120-128.

11. TMB 15.7.7.

12. TMB 15.3.7.

13. RV 5.29.11.

maṇas also (SB 12.8.3.7). He saw the Gaurivita Sāman, by which he obtained Brahmanic lustre.¹⁴

(14) *Gautama*:—He is the originator of a Catūrātra Sacrifice. This was seen by him to create belief in others.¹⁵

(15) *Ghṛtaścut Āṅgīrasa*:—The Ghṛtaścunnidhana was seen by him. He, along with Madhuścit was one of the Āṅgīrasas who were left behind. By this nidhana he attained the heaven. The nidhana that he saw is a Yajurnidhana.¹⁶

(16) *Goloma Āṅgīrasa*:—The Goloma Sāman was seen by him to obtain cattle (JB 3.163).

(17) *Gorāṅgīrasa*:—The Pañcaviṁśā Stoma which is one of the Ekāhas was seen by him for overcoming all sins (TMB 15.8.7).

(18) *Gośuktin* and *Aśvasūktin*:—The two Sāmans called Gośūkta and Aśvasūkta were seen by them. He is a pupil of Íśa Śyāvāśvi, according to the JUB.¹⁷

(19) *Hārāyana Āṅgīrasa*:—He is one of the sages mentioned in the RV.¹⁸ He is mentioned along with Ukṣanayāyana and Susāman. He saw the Hārāyana Sāma to obtain cattle (JB 3.216).

(20) *Harivarṇa Āṅgīrasa*:—He saw the Harivarṇa Sāman to free the Āṅgīrasas who were captivated by demons. (JB 1.183).

(21) *Haviṣmat* and *Haviṣkṛt*:—These two were left behind when all other Āṅgīrasas reached the heaven. So they saw the Haviṣmat and Haviṣkṛt Sāmans by which they reached the heaven. (TMB 11.10.7).

(22) *Jamadagni Bhārgava*:—He is one of the seven sages and is very commonly referred to in the Vedic Literature. In the TMB¹⁹ it is stated that he saw the Vihavya by which Indra came to him and did not go to other sages.

(23) *Kabandha Ātharvaṇa*:—He is the originator of Dvādaśāha Sacrifice.²⁰ He is mentioned in the Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad (Br. Up. 6.7.1).

(24) *Kali Gāndharva*:—He saw the Kāleya Sāman and obtained a world, when the gods divided the worlds and he failed to obtain a share in the division. The place Kālinda also is named²¹ after him. They are mentioned in the RV.

14. JB 1.204.

15. JB 2.290.

16. JB 1.224.

17. JUB 4.16.1.

18. RV 8.28.22.

19. TMB 9.4.14.

20. JB 3.312.

21. JB 1.153.

(25) *Kākṣīvat Ausija*:—This sage is often referred to in the RV.^{22, 23} He is the descendant of a female slave named Uṣij.²⁴ He saw the *Kākṣīvata Sāman* by which he obtained progeny.²⁵ At TMB 7.10.10, *Kākṣīvat* is referred to as *Naudhasa*.

(26) *Kaṇva*:—is one of the Vedic seers. Many of his descendants are referred to. He is the seer of the *Kaṇva Sāman*, in which the *Askara Nidhana* was seen by him (TMB 8.2.2).

(27) *Karṇaśravas Āngirasa*:—He saw the *Karṇaśravasa Sāman* for producing cattle (TMB 13.11.12).

(28) *Kāśiti Saubhara*:—He saw the *Kaśita Sāman* for curing himself of consumption (*Yakṣma*).²⁶

(29) *Kāśyapa*:—He is mentioned in the RV²⁷ and is referred to more often in the later *Samhitās* and *Brāhmaṇas*. He is referred to in the JB²⁸ as the seer of the *Upasad* sacrifice by which his progeny lay beside him.

(30) *Kavi Bhārgava*:—He is the seer of the *Kāva Sāman* by which he attained the heaven (JB 1.167).

(31) *Kṛtaveśa*:—He saw the *Kārtaveśa Sāman* in order that two kingdoms could unite and become one (JB 3.195).

(32) *Kruñc Āngirasa*:—He saw the *Krauñca Sāman* for enjoying the stay in the heaven (JB 3.32).

(33) *Kulmalabarhiṣ*:—He saw the *Kaulamalabarhiṣa Sāman* and thereby obtained both wild and domesticated animals.²⁹

(34) *Kutsa*:—The name 'Kutsa' is frequently mentioned in the *Rgveda* as that of hero though it does not give any information. In the TMB³⁰, he is referred to as the seer of the *Kautsa Sāman*, by which he won *Indra's* favour.

(35) *Madhucchandasa Āngirasa*:—He saw the *Madhucchandasa Sāman* by which he became foremost and most important (JB 3.27).

(36) *Madhuścit Āngirasa*:—He is one of the *Āngirasa*s, who was left out when the other *Āngirasa*s went to the heaven. So he saw the *Madhuścinnidhana* by which he was able to reach the heaven (JB 1.224).

(37) *Manu*:—He is *Vaivasvata* and saw the two *Mānava Sāmans* to get out of the world which had become successful (JB 3.99).

22. RV 1.8.1, 51, 13 etc.

23. RV 1.18.1.

24. TMB 14.11.17.

25. JB 3.263.

26. RV 9.114.2.

27. JB 2.81.

28. JB 2.21.

29. RV 1.131.2; 2.39.4.

30. JB 3.220.

(38) *Mrgāyu*:—He was Mahādeva and saw the Mārgiyava Sāman by which he became the overlord of both the kinds of animals which were created.³¹

(39) *Naudhasa*:—He saw the Naudhasa Sāman by which the gods divided Brahmanic lustre among the gods.³² His name is mentioned in the RV.³³

(40) *Nipātitha*:—He saw the Naipātitha Sāman and brought back the cattle which had escaped.³⁴

(41) *Paśtavah or Paśtauhi Āṅgīrasa*:—He is the seer of the Paśtauha Sāman by which Pāśtauhi entered the heaven.³⁵

(42) *Pr̥thu Vainya*:—He is the seer the Pārtha Sāman.³⁶

(43) *Priyamedha*:—He was the seer of the Praiyamedha Sāman.

(44) *Puruhanman Vaikhānasa*:—He saw the Pauruhanman Sāman by which he obtained cattle (JB 3.215).

(45) *Purumadga Āṅgīrasa*:—He saw the Paurumadga Sāman by which he obtained cattle (JB 3.43).

(46) *Purvātitha Arcanānas*:—He was the younger brother of Śyāvaśva. He saw the Paurvātitha Sāman for obtaining cattle (JB 1.228).

(47) *Puškala Āṅgīrasa*:—He saw the Pauškala Sāman by which he obtained cattle (JB 1.160).

(48) *Ṛśya*:—He saw the Ṛśya Sāman by which he praised Indra with the one part which was admitted by others (TMB 5.4.13).

(49) *Sadhri Vairupa*:—He saw the Sādhra Sāman for obtaining cattle (JB 3.272).

(50) *Śākala*:—By the Śākala Sāman, Śākala obtained food.³⁷

(51) *Śarkara Śiśumāra*:—Śarkara praised Indra with the Śarkara Sāman (TMB 14.5.14).

(52) *Sāmmada Āṅgīrasa*:—He attained the heaven by the Sāmmada Sāman (JB 3.165).

(53) *Sindukṣita*:—He saw the Saindhukṣita Sāman for obtaining royalty (JB 3.168).

(54) *Śiśu Āṅgīrasa*:—He saw the Śaiśava Sāman to establish his greatness among his elders (TMB 13.3.23).

31. JB 3.51.

32. JB 3.131.

33. JB 3.93.

34. RV 5.52.1, 8.35.19.

35. JB 1.163.

36. TMB 14.11.25.

37. TMB 14.11.32.

(55) *Śnaus̥ṭhi Āṅgīrasa*:—He saw the Śnaus̥ṭha Sāman by which he obtained the heaven easily (TMB 13.11.21).

(56) *Śrutakakṣa*:—He saw the Śrautakakṣa Sāman for obtaining cattle (JB 1.217).

(57) *Sumedhas*:—He saw the Saumedha Sāman for the prosperity of the night (TMB 9.2.20).

(58) *Sumitra Kalyāṇa*:—He was very handsome. So Indra asked him to talk in such a way as to beguile Dīrghahīhvī, the demoness who licked Indra's Soma. Accordingly having won her over, he praised Indra with the Saumitra Sāman (JB 1.161).

(59) *Sūkta Āṅgīrasas*:—He saw the Saukta Sāman to obtain freedom from sorrow (JB 3.53).

(60) *Śyāvāśva*:—He is referred to many times in the RV.³⁸ He saw the Śyāvāśva Sāman and thus found the means to attain the heaven, even though the Satrins had discarded him and gone away.³⁹

(61) *Turaśravas*:—He saw a Sāman called the Turaśravas Sāman. By this Sāman Indra was pleased and gave him the oblation offered by the Paravatas on the Yamunā (TMB 9.4.9).

(62) *Tiraści Āṅgīrasa*:—He saw the Tairaścyā Sāman for conquering the demons (TMB 12.6.11).

(63) *Trita Āptya*:—He, who was one of the Āptyas saw the Traita Sāman by which he created rain and made the lid, with which Ekata and Dvita had closed him, float.⁴⁰

(64) *Udala Daivarāta*:—According to the TMB⁴¹ Udala belongs to the Viśvāmītra gotra, whereas according to the JB⁴² he is Udala Daivarāta. The former obtained progeny, by this, whereas the latter obtained Brahmanic lustre by this.

(65) *Ukṣṇorandhra*:—He saw the Aukṣṇorandhra Sāman and thereby attained the heaven (JB 3.150).

(66) *Urñāyu*:—He is a Gandharva who saw the Aurñāyava Sāman (JB 3.76).

(67) *Vaikhānasa*:—He saw the Vaikhānasa Sāmans to obtain the fulfilment of their desire. They were the favourite sages of Indra and were killed by the demon Rahasyu at Munimaraṇa.⁴³

(68) *Vāmadeva*:—He saw the Vāmadevya Sāman, by which he obtained food (TMB 13.9.26).

38. JB 3.228.

39. TMB 14.4.7.

40. JB 3.99.

41. RV 4.27; 4.24.

42. TMB 13.11.9.

43. RV 1.45.3; 8.75.6.

(69) *Vamra Vaikhānasa*:—He saw the Vamra Sāman for obtaining cattle.⁴⁴ He is an important Ṛgvedic seer.⁴⁵

(70) *Vasiṣṭha*:—He is one of the ancient Ṛgvedic seers. We find that many of the Sāmans are attributed to him.

(71) *Vatsa Kaṇva*:—He saw the Vatsa Sāman in order to obtain the cattle (JB 3.198).

(72) *Vatsapra Bhālandana*:—In the Samhitās the name is known as Vatsapra Bhālanda. He saw the Vatsapra Sāman.

(73) *Veṇu Bhārgava or Vaiśvāmitra*:—He saw the Vaiṇava Sāman and became possessed of Brahmanic lustre (JB 1.220).

(74) *Vidanvat Bhārgava*:—He saw the Vaidanvata Sāman to expiate his sin of killing the enemies that had come into being with Indra.⁴⁶

(75) *Virūpa Āṅgīrasa*:—He is the seer of the Vairūpa Sāman. He is referred to in the RV.⁴⁷

(76) *Viśvamanas*:—He is a Ṛgvedic sage.⁴⁸ He is a friend of Indra and is the seer of the Vaiśvamānasa Sāman.⁴⁹

(77) *Viśvāmitra*:—He is a Ṛgvedic sage and many Sāmans are attributed to him.

(78) *Vr̥ṣa Jāna*:—He once saw a Brāhmaṇa boy killed by the chariot of the King whose Purohita he was. He revived the boy to life by the Vār̥ṣa Sāman.⁵⁰

(79) *Vyāśva Sākamaśva*:—He is an Āṅgīrasa and is the seer of the Vaiyāśva Sāman.⁵¹

(80) *Yuktaśva*:—He is the seer of the Yauktaśva Sāman to expiate the sin of killing his children (TMB 11.8.8).

Thus it will be noticed from the seer of Sāmans that not only the Brāhmaṇa seers but even Kṣatriyas saw the Sāmans. Many times these Sāmans are seen for expiating sins, and getting cured of diseases. It is interesting to note that many of the Sāmans are seen by the Āṅgīrasas, and Bhārgavas.

(B) *Priests, Teachers, Brahmachārins and Gotras*:

We now turn to the various priests mentioned in the myths of the SV Brāhmaṇas.

44. RV 8.23.2; 24, 7.

45. TMB 15.5.20.

46. TMB 13.3.12.

47. TMB 14.10.9.

48. TMB 10.5.9.

49. TMB 2.9.4.

50. JB 3.234.

51. JB 2.419.

(1) *Abhipratārin Kākṣaseni*:—Though a Kuru and a prince, he is often described as being engaged in philosophical discussions. In the TMB⁵² he approaches Ucchamanyu Girikṣit and asks him the rules regarding the performance of Dvādaśāha. At TMB 14.1.12, it is stated that his sons divided the property while he was alive.

(2) *Abhipratāranas*:—In the TMB they are said to be most lustrous because they use the Saptasthita Viṣṭuti.⁵³ Therefore it seems that these were a class of priests.

(3) *Agastī* was the Udgātṛ of the house-holders of Medhātithi, who were the followers of Vibhinduki (sec. of people).⁵⁴

(4) *Ahina Aśvatthi*:—He is one of the well-known and most prominent of the Udgātṛs. The JB (1.285) describes how Ahina Aśvatthi became the Purohita of the Keśins by worshipping the metres. At another place⁵⁵ we find the myth which informs us that the sons of Ahina Aśvatthi approached him and he described the ideals of Sacrifice and their application.

(5) *Āmalaka Akuvāyeya*:—He is one of the priests, who is engaged in a discussion regarding the various manifestations of Prajāpati.⁵⁶

(6) *Aruṇi Sātyayañnas*:—He is one of the priests, who expresses the views on the use of Bṛhat and Rathantara. He said that Bṛhat should be used in the Savanas.⁵⁷

(7) *Aruṇi Vasiṣṭha*:—He stayed as a Brahmacārin in Caikitāneya's house. Caikitāneya instructed him regarding the qualities and characteristics of Sāman.⁵⁸

(8) *Āruṇeya Sātapatya*:—He instructed Galuna Arkṣakāyana regarding the Dhuras.⁵⁹

(9) *Asitamrgas*:—These sages as they figure in the JB⁶⁰ are the sons of Kāśyapa. They, being surprised at the chanting of Soma by Kusurvinda Auddālaki approach him and he instructs them regarding the establishment of the sacrifice in Viśvarūpa of Gāyatra Sāman.⁶¹

(10) *Ātharvaṇas*:—They seem to be a class of priests who obtained the immortal world by the Ātharvaṇa Sāman (TMB 8.2.5).

52. JB 3.350.

53. YJB 1.291.

54. JUB 1.13.3.1.

55. JB 1.317.

56. JB 1.75.

57. JB 1.75.

58. JB 1.190.

59. JUB 2.3.1.1.

60. JB 1.124.

61. JUB 1.12.4.1.

(11) *Atidhanva Śaunaka*:—He is one of the priests who officiated along with Āṣaḍha Savayasva who performed the Atirātra Sacrifice.⁶²

(12) *Ayāśya Āṅgirasas*:—He is the Udgātṛ among the people (TMB 16.12.1).

(13) *Bābhru Kumbhya*:—He is one of the sages who saw the Bābhra Sāman (JB 3.250).

(14) *Bamba Ajadviṣa*:—He was the Udgātṛ of the King Śaryāta Mānava. On account of this Udgātṛ, the manes were included in the Sacrifice.⁶³

(15) *Bṛhaspati*:—He is the Udgātṛ of the gods.⁶⁴

(16) *Brahmadatta Caikitāneya*:—He belongs to the Caikitāneya Vamśa in the JUB. He was the Udgātṛ of the Kurus.⁶⁵

(17) *Cyutācyut*:—He was the Pratihartṛ officiating in Śaryāta Mānava's Sacrifice.⁶⁶

(18) *Dantala Dhāmnya*:—He is a preceptor who instructed Gobala Vārṣṇa (JB 2.55).

(19) *Dr̥ta Aindrota*:—He is one of the priests. He was asked by Abhipratārin Kākṣasenī how the beings climbed to the tops of trees and remained there. So Dr̥ta said that the beings could remain on the tops of trees by means of wings. These wings were the Trivṛt and Pañcadaśa (TMB 14.1.12).

(20) *Dantala Dhaumya*:—He is the preceptor in whose house Hṛtsvasaya Āllakeya stayed.⁶⁷

(21) *Datva Sautemanas*:—He is a student of Mitravit Daṃṣṭradyumna.⁶⁸

(22) *Gauriviti*:—He was the Prastotṛ in the sacrifice performed by Śaryāta Mānava (JB 3.234).

(23) *Gangina Rahakṣita*:—He is one of the officiating Brāhmaṇas at the Sacrifice performed by Khaṇḍika Audbhāri.⁶⁹

(24) *Gobāla Vārṣṇa*:—He is the student of Sātyayajñi (JB 2.43).

(25) *Galalūna Arkṣakāyana*:—He went to Aruṇeya Satpateya who taught him the Aruṇeya Dhuras (JB 1.317).

(26) *Iyāpi Saumapas*:—They are a sect of priests. They satisfied themselves by sacrificing for others (JB 1.280).

62. JB 3.234.

63. JB 2.55.

64. JB 2.276.

65. JB 2.122.

66. JB 1.236.

67. JUB 3.1.1.1.

68. JB 1.336.

69. JB 1.286.

(27) *Janaka Iyāpi*:—He is a student of Somapa, who instructed him regarding the performance of the Śaḍahas (JB 2.42).

(28) *Janaka Vaideha*:—He explained the characteristics of Agnihotra (JB 1.19). The Brāhmaṇas who approached him were Barku Vārṣṇa, Aruṇi Vājasaneya, Priya Jānaśruteya Buḍila Aśvatarāśvi Vaiyāghrapadya.

(29) *Kahola Kauśitakeya*:—He explained the characteristics of Virāj as an Ekāha.⁷⁰

(30) *Keśi Satyakāmi*:—He was one of the officiating Udgātṛs of the Pañcālas (JB 2.122).

(31) *Karadvīṣas*:—They are a class of priests who are endowed with long life (TMB 2.15.4).

(32) *Luśakapi Khārgali*:—He is another Udgātṛ of the Pañcālas (JB 2.122).

(33) *Mitravit Daṁṣṭradyumna*:—He was a preceptor in the kingdom of Pratidarsa Vaibhavata Svaitra (JB 2.276).

(34) *Prācīnaśāli Jābāla*:—He is a Brahmacārin.⁷¹

(35) *Pravati Kauśanti*:—He was a Brahmacārin under Kusurvinda Auddālaki (JB 2.431).

(36) *Pratṛḍa Bhalla Alamyaialaja*:—He was an Udgātṛ. (JUB 3.6.3.1).

(37) *Sāmastomi Bālāki*:—He was chanting Sāmans for Sāyaka Jānaśruteya. He was then chanting a Sāman by which he would extract his blood. The people roused about it came to the sacrificial place being angry with him for his ghastly deed. They beat him with a stick and thus made him bleed. So he asked how he should chant to avoid such occurrences. So they told him that he should not use the word, 'āsrṣ' but 'ho'.⁷²

(38) *Saci Paulomi*:—This is the name of an Udgātṛ (JB 3.199).

(39) *Sātyayajñi Pouluṣi*:—He is mentioned as an Udgātṛ (JB 1.264).

(40) *Samgamana Kṣaimi*:—He is also an Udgātṛ.⁷³

(41) *Uśanas Kāvya*:—He was the Udgātṛ of the demons.⁷⁴

(42) *Ulukya Jānaśruteya*:—He was a preceptor.

(a) *The Gotras.*

(1) *Bhāllaveyas* are referred to as a Śākhā and they are always acceptors of Dakṣiṇā because they use the Parivartini Viṣṭuti (THB 2.2.4).

70. JB 1.124.

71. GPNK P. 50.

72. JB 1.226.

73. GPNK P. 48.

74. GPNK P. 234.

(2) *Bharadvajāyanas* or the sages belonging to Bhāradvaja Gotra performed Dvādaśāha, of which each day signified a particular effect. According to the later Gotra-pravara the Bhāradvajāyanas consist of the Pravara of Āṅgīrasa, Bārhaspatya and Bhāradvaja.⁷⁵

(3) *Kaṇvāyanas*:—The Kaṇvāyanas desired to create cattle and by the Maidhātitha Sāman their desire was fulfilled.⁷⁶ According to the Gotrapravara, the sages of this Gotra are Kaṇvayana, Kaujavatha and Vatsyatarayana.⁷⁷

(4) *Śāktya*:—The two sages of the Śāktya Gotra, referred to in the JB are Gaurivita and Āndhigu. The sages of this Gotra are Śāktyas, Gaurivita and Sānskṛtya.⁷⁸

(5) *Niṣkara*:—The TMB (12.514) states that the Yajamānas belonging to this Gotra did not know the third and knew it by use of the Vāc Sāmans. This Gotra is not mentioned in Gotra Pravara text.

(6) *Mālya*:—In the TMB⁷⁹, a sage Arya belonging to the Mālya Gotra is referred to. This Gotra is considered, later on, to be allied to the Mitrāyuvā Gotra the Pravara sages of which are: Bhārgava, Vādhyasva, and Daivodāsa.⁸⁰

(7) *Aindrota*:—In TMB we find a reference to Dṛta of Aindrota Gotra.⁸¹ We do not find reference to this Gotra later on.

(8) *Vidadaśva*:—The Purumidhas belong to this Gotra⁸². But there is no mention of this Gotra later on.

(9) *Viśvāmitra*:—In the TMB,⁸³ we find reference to Udala, who saw the Audala Sāman. The Pravara sages of the Viśvāmitra Gotra are Viśvāmitra, Devarāta and Udala.⁸⁴

(10) *Kumbhya*:—The TMB⁸⁵ refers to Babhru, who reached the heaven. But it is not clear whether this Gotra is the same as the Kumbha Gotra, the Pravara sages of which are Āṅgīrasa, Trāsadasya, and Purukutsa (GPNK p. 48).

(11) *Kāśyapa*:—The sage of this Gotra, referred to in the TMB is Ākupāra, who is otherwise referred to as Āṅgīrasi (TMB 15.5.29). The sages of this Gotra are Kāśyapa, Avatsara, Naidhruva (GPNK p. 70).

75. TMB 13.4.11.

76. GPNK p. 24.

77. TMB 14.1.2.

78. TMB 13.7.

79. TMB 14.11.32.

80. GPNK p. 63.

81. TMB 15.3.13.

82. GPNK p. 42.

83. RV 8.3.9.6.18.

84. TS 2.4; 9.2.6; 2.7.5; KS 8.5; 11.10 & AB 7.28.

85. TMB 81.1.4.

(12) *Kapi*:—The Kāpeyas are mentioned in the TMB (TMB 20.12.5). The sages who are mentioned later on as the Pravara sages of this Gotra are Āṅgīrasa, Āmahāyya and Aurukṣayya.⁸⁶

Thus we find that the priests, and the Brahmacārins were esteemed highly and were provided for by the kings. Though there was distinction between the Brāhmaṇa and the Kṣatriyas, the kings took part freely in philosophical discussions and discussions regarding the details of sacrifice. At the same time, we find that though the priests and the Udgātṛs were respected highly, yet a slightest mistake committed by them was punished with the utmost severity, this might have been because the kings themselves were conversant with the details of the Sacrifice and did not rely absolutely on the priests. Then further considering the Gotras we find that some of the sages and two kings mentioned in the TMB are the Pravara sages of some of the Gotras. Besides the TMB also throws light on the existence of certain other Gotras such as the Bhāllaveya, Niṣkara and Vidadaśva, which are mentioned in the TMB, and not found in the later treatises on Gotra Pravara.

(i) *Yatis and Vrātyas*.

Besides the Brāhmaṇas, there were a class of people who, though belonging to the Aryan fold, were condemned owing to their malpractices, and non-observance of religious practices. These were called the Yatis and Vrātyas.

(a) *Yatis*.

Yati, as we find in the R̥gveda⁸⁷, is the name of an ancient clan which is connected with the Bhr̥gus. But in later Saṁhitas,⁸⁸ and Brāhmaṇas, we find that Indra threw the Yatis to the jackals. Similarly in TMB⁸⁹ too we find a myth which states that Indra cast the Yatis to the jackals. Here Sāyana defines Yatis as Vedaviruddhaniyamopetāḥ. Therefore it may be that the Yatis are the ascetics, who somehow brought on themselves, the wrath of Indra, for what reason we do not know.

In the TMB, we find that three of the Yatis named Bṛhadgira, Pṛthuraśma, and Rāyovāja are supported and brought up like sons by Indra and endowed with Brahmanical lustre, Kṣatra and wealth. Therefore, this myth perhaps suggests a change in his outlook. According to this myth it is stated that the Yatis were cast to the jackals by Indra. These three Yatis who escaped Indra's wrath were later on protected by Indra and endowed with three Sāmans, by which they obtained the fulfilment of their desires. Bṛhadgira

86. TMB 17.1.9.

87. TMB 17.1.16.

88. TMB 25.16.3.

89. JUB 2.6.11.

desired Brahmanic lustre and obtained it by the Bārhadgira Sāman. Pṛthuraśma desired Kṣatra obtained it by the Pārthuraśma Sāman and Rāyovāja desired wealth and progeny and obtained it by the Rāyovāja Sāman.

The term 'Vrātya' affords many explanations. In the fifteenth book AV, they are deified and esteemed in Society. In the TMB, they denote a certain type of people mostly Aryan who seem to have transgressed the accepted code of Aryan conduct are condemned and are accepted back into the Aryan fold, after the performance of certain rites. In the Manusmṛti (10.20) the Vrātya means a person who is not initiated into the Vedic Learning (Sāvitṛipatita) denote people who do not perform religious rites. Therefore the general idea conveyed is that they were a certain class of people who failed in their religious duties. However in the treatment of Vrātyas there seems to be great co-ordination between the SV and AV. For, in the treatment of AV, we find that the Sāmans play an important part, and the description of the Vrātya given in TMB is similar to that of AV. In the JUB⁹⁰ the Vrātyas are referred to in the plural (divyāḥ vrātyaḥ).

Vrātyas in TMB:—According to TMB,⁹¹ the Vrātyas consist of those who are banished from society, those who do not perform righteous deeds, and observe Brahmacarya. They do not trade, engage in agricultural activities, but they perform the Śoḍaśa Stoma. The TMB which explains who these Vrātyas were, states that the gods went to Svarga and some of them (their attendants), were left behind and these were called the Vrātyas. They came to the place from where the gods attained the heaven, but failed in their attempts because they were not aware of the metre used by the gods. Then the Maruts, who were sent by the gods taught them the Śoḍaśa Stoma, which had the power to free them of all their unsociable traits. In it the Dyautana Sāman is laid down, because the chief of Vrātyas is Dyautana. At another place it is stated that Budha Sthapati was the leader of the Vrātyas (JB 2.221).

Characteristics of Vrātyas:—The Vrātyas consume food which is swallowed or poisonous or the food which is to be consumed by the Brāhmaṇas, obtaining it by force, they complain of being abused when they are not, they punish the innocent and though uninitiated speak the language of the initiated.⁹² Further while describing the rite to be performed by the Vrātya it is stated that the Vrātya should give as Dakṣiṇā a turban, a whip, a garment with black border, two deer skins and a silver coin.⁹³ The dress of the Vrātya

90. RV 1.18.1; 51.13; 112.11 etc.

91. TMB 25.16.3.

92. TMB 14.11.16.

93. JUB 3.40.2.

is comprised of garments with red border and pointed shoes. He, having procured these should give these to the Brāhmaṇa of Magadha country. By this Vratyas are elevated to the level of the Aryans. These Vratyas are thirty-three in number.

Therefore the Vratyas are a class of people who though sinful and condemnable in their practices are later on elevated and taken into the Aryan fold by the Vratya Stoma rites.

(C) *Kings, Vamśas and tribes.*

We now turn to the kings mentioned in the SV Brāhmaṇas.

(1) *Pāra Atnāra*:—This king is referred in the TS (5.6.5.3) and the KS (22.3) as Pāra Atnāra. In the TMB⁹⁴ and the JUB⁹⁵ he is one of the kings who obtained progeny by performing the Satra lasting for three years.

(2) *Kakṣivant Auśija*:—It is uncertain whether he is a Kṣatriya or a Brāhmaṇa. He is mentioned as one of the Ṛsis in the RV.⁹⁶ He seems to have been the descendant of a female slave called Usij. But in the TMB⁹⁷ he is referred to among a list of kings and elsewhere in the TMB⁹⁸ he is mentioned as the seer of the Kākṣivata Sāman and a sage.

(3) *Hṛtsvaśaya Allakeya*:—In the JUB⁹⁹ he is referred to as a teacher in the Vamśa and as a pupil of Somasuśma Satyayajñi Prācīnayogya. In the TMB¹⁰⁰, he is considered as a powerful king, and Somasuśma Sātyajñi is his Udgāṭr. According to the myth, Hṛtsvaśaya Allakeya initiated his son. After selecting Somasuśma Sātyayajñi as the Udgāṭr, messages were sent to inform the people to be present at the initiation. After the completion of the sacrifice, the king asked the Udgāṭr where he had established sacrifice. So the Udgāṭr replied that he had established the sacrifice in the Yajamāna, in Vāmadevya and the cattle in Rathantara.

(4) *Khaṇḍika Audbhāri*:—He is mentioned as the teacher of Keśin in the SB.¹⁰¹ In the MS he is described as the teacher of Keśin in the SB.¹⁰² In the MS he is described as having been defeated by Keśin as a sacrificer.¹⁰³ In the JB we meet a myth which states that Khaṇḍika Audbhāri and Keśi Dārbhya contested in Pañcāla. The Purohitas of Khaṇḍika were Ahina Aśvatthi, Keśi Satyakāmi, Gaṅgina Rahakṣita and Luśakapi Khārgali. On

94. JB 1.234.

95. SB 11.8.4.1.

96. MS 1.4.12.

97. JB 1.123.

98. JUB 3.29.1.

99. JB 1.123.

100. JB 2.53.

101. JB 1.160.

102. TMB 20.13.4.

103. JB 1.345.

their advice he performed the Parikrī Sacrifice and superceded Keśi.¹⁰⁴

(5) *Keśi Dārbhya*:—He is also known as Dālbhya. According to the JUB¹⁰⁵ he was a king, and the sister's son of Ucchaiśravas. In the JB, we have a mention of Keśi Dārbhya as one of the kings. In the JB¹⁰⁶, a contest between Khaṇḍika Audbhāri and Keśi Dārbhya is described and here both are Pañcālas. Another myth¹⁰⁷ states that Keśi Dārbhya took Dikṣā by Darbha and leaves. Yajñasena Hansa sat at the Yūpa and having obtained gold called him Keśi Śuni. He was annoyed and said, "I am old and the king of the Pañcālas, asd as I have taken Dikṣā, I do not deserve to be so called". So Yajñasena pacified him and told him, "Do not be angry. I have been speaking so because I was king before you. As I know Dikṣā, I will make you Dikṣita by night".

(6) *Diva Gārgya*:—We do not find any other information except that in the JB¹⁰⁸, it is stated that Diva Gārgya performed Sacrifice and that Keśi Dārbhya and Rjīśva Vātava were present.

(7) *Kapivana Bhauvāyana*:—In this case too, we have no clear evidences to indicate whether Kapivana was a Kṣatriya or a Brāhmaṇa. In the TMB¹⁰⁹, he is mentioned as a teacher. In the JB,¹¹⁰ we find a myth which states that Kapivana told his subjects that he who wished to obtain Brahmanic lustre should invite him.

(8) *Palyayāmana*:—He is referred to only in the JB¹¹¹ as having come to Somasuśma Sātyayajñi and desiring to take Dikṣā.

(9) *Pratidarśa Vaiḍhavata Svaitna*:—We only find his name mentioned as a king, in whose kingdom Datva Sautemanas and Mitravit Daṃṣṭradyumna were the Brahmacārins.¹¹²

(10) *Sudās Paijavana*:—He is a Vedic King. He belongs to the Ikṣvāku race. Here too, Vasiṣṭha is referred to as his Purohita.¹¹³

(11) *Sindhukṣit*:—He is a King who has been banished since long and is finally restored by the Saindhukṣita Sāman. He is a royal sage.¹¹⁴

(12) *Śaryāta Mānava*:—He occurs in the story of Cyavana where the Śaryātas annoy him by pelting stones at him. The JB¹¹⁵

104. JB 2.56.

105. JB 2.276.

106. JB 3.23.

107. TMB 12.12.6.

108. JB 3.120.122.

109. JUB 4.7.1; 8.3.5.

110. RV 1.63.7, 4.42.8; 9.

111. TMB 25.16.3.

112. TMB 9.1.9.

113. TMB 25.6.13.

114. JB 3.195.

115. JB 3.195.

further states that Śaryāta Mānava endowed him with gifts. In the JUB¹¹⁶ he appears as a sacrificer.

(13) *Purukutsa*:—He is a king who is mentioned frequently in the RV.¹¹⁷ His son was Trāsadasyu. He is one of the kings who performed the three years Satra for securing progeny.¹¹⁸

(14) *Vitahavya Śrāyasa*:—He is a king mentioned in the Rgveda, along with Bhāradvaja. He is a contemporary of Sudās. In the SV Brāhmanas he figures first as a banished king; who come back as the result of his chanting the Vaitahavya Sāman,¹¹⁹ then later on he is mentioned among the list of kings who perform the three-year Satra for procuring progeny.¹²⁰ Lastly in the JB his kingdom is mentioned as one of the kingdoms which Kṛtaveśa desired to consolidated.¹²¹

(15) *Mitrāvasu*:—It is the name of a king who was a contemporary of Vitahavya Kṛtaveśa desired to conquer his kingdom.¹²²

(16) *Kṛtaveśa*:—He saw the Dvinidana and praised with it in order to consolidate the kingdoms of Mitrāvasu and Vaitahavya into one.¹²³

(17) *Taranta and Purumīḍha*:—He is a patron of Syāvaśva as we see him in the RV.¹²⁴ In the TMB it is stated that the Purusanti and Dhvasra gave thousands as Dakṣiṇā to Purumīḍhas. They accepted it and in order to free themselves from sin they saw the Mantra with four Nidhanas.¹²⁵ In the JB also it is stated that Taranta Purumīḍha and Vaitadaśvi accepted too much from people who were collapsing. In order to avert possibility of their being destroyed they saw the Caturnidhana.¹²⁶

(18) *Vaitadaśvi Māheya*:—He is one of the two kings who accepted excessive Dakṣiṇā from helpless people.¹²⁷

(19) *Aruṇa Jivāla*: He was a king and a Brahmacārin who stayed in the house of Asadha and owing to the power of the Dhuras he became the best among the kings.¹²⁸

(20) *Janaka Vaideha*:—This important king was a very prominent expounder of philosophical implications of Sacrifice many

116. RV 5.61.10.

117. TMB 13.7.12.

118. JB 3.139.

119. JB 1.151.

120. JB 1.270.

121. SB 11.6.2.10.

122. JB 1.19.22.

123. RV 6.20.6; 10.48.9.

124. TMB 25.10.17.

125. RV 1.158.1-6.

126. JB 3.257.

127. TMB 15.3.25.

128. JB 3.257.

times. He is a contemporary of Vājasaneyā and Yājñavalkya and other sages. SB¹²⁹ states that he later on became a Brāhmaṇa that is he acquired Brahmanic knowledge. However the most outstanding feature in the consideration of this trait is the highly philosophical discussion on the performance of Agnihotra.¹³⁰

(21) *Nami Vaideha*:—Though mentioned as a Vaideha King in TMB he appears in the RV only as a lay man in the RV.¹³¹ In the TMB¹³² he is stated to have performed the Sārasvata Sātra for reaching the heaven.

(22) *Uchhaiśrava Kauraveya*:—This King is mentioned in the JUB (3.29.1-3) as a king of the Kurus. He is the maternal uncle of the Kaurava King, Keśin.

(23) *Dirghaśravas* and *Dirghatamas Māmmateya*:—Dirghatamas is mentioned as a singer in one of the hymns of the RV.¹³³ Dirghaśravas is the younger brother of Dirghatamas.¹³⁴ The Dairghaśravas Sāman is attributed to Dirghaśravas, who saw it when he wanted to obtain sweet food, according to TMB¹³⁵ and the JB.¹³⁶

VAMŚAS AND TRIBES

(a) *Bāharayas*:—They belong to the family of Kurus and are the most praiseworthy among them.¹³⁷

(b) *Bharatas*:—It is the name of an important Vamśa, which is prominent from the time of the RV. They are always mentioned in close connection with the Kings, such as Sudās and Tṛtsus.¹³⁸ In the AB they are a well known tribe. In the Brāhmaṇas they attain special fame, as their religious practices are often referred to. In the JB, it is stated that Bharatas were on the other side of the Sindhu ruled over by the Ikṣvākus. Viśvāmitra and Jamadagni stayed there. Indra told Viśvāmitra and Jamadagni to win over the cattle of the Ikṣvākus. So they carried out Indra's command by the Vaiśvāmitra Sāman.¹³⁹

(c) *Saudāsas*:—These are the descendants of Sudās. The JB states that Śakti Vasiṣṭha was cast into the fire by the Saudāsas.¹⁴⁰

129. JB 2.305.

130. RV 3.53: 9.12.24.

131. JB 3.238.

132. JB 2.392.

133. TMB 13.3.11.

134. TMB 25.16.3.

135. TMB 25.6.4.

136. JB 3.168.

137. TMB 13.12.5.

138. JB 1.118.

139. JB 2.279.

140. TMB 14.4.7.

(d) *Ikṣvāku*:—This is an ancient Vamśa of Kings and the Ikṣvāku Kings mentioned here are Tryarūpa Traidhātva¹⁴¹ and Purukutsa.¹⁴²

(e) *Naimiṣiyas*:—This is the name of the tribes who dwell in the Naimiṣa forest. They are endowed with special sanctity. The TMB¹⁴³ states that the Naimiṣiyas became prosperous by the Dvādaśa Samvatsara Satra.

(f) *Gopāyanas*:—They are the descendants of Gopa. They are endowed with the power of enslaving demonesses as they enslave Asamati Rathapraustha, and thus become endowed with Asura powers.¹⁴⁴ They were disturbed by the Kirātas, in the middle of the sacrifice. Hence they approached Agni and recollected their strength by this favour.¹⁴⁵

(g) *Kirātas*:—They are a demoniac tribe who disturb the sacrifice of Gopāyanas.

We find that the Kṣatriyas are here for the most part endowed with Brahmanic qualities and are royal sages.

(D) *Historical Information.*

It is interesting to note that the myths afford us valuable historical material. This is presented here as following:

(1) *Kurus and Pañcālas*:—They are prominent Kṣatriya families. Their mutual rivalry is often referred to. In some places, we find that the Kurus are inferior to the Pañcālas in religious practices. In the JB¹⁴⁶ it is stated that the Uttara Kurus said that Kuru Pañcālas partook of Soma without Vāṣaṭkāra. Another myth describes a contest for supremacy between Khaṇḍika Audbhāri the King of the Kurus and Keśi Dārbhya, the King of the Pañcālas. Here the Kaurava wins over him by means of the Antarasva.¹⁴⁷

(2) *The Kings and their status among the people:—*

A study of the myths regarding the Kings, shows that the Kings commanded great respect among their subjects owing to the vast philosophical knowledge displayed by them in their discussions. Owing to this we find that they are most often confused and considered to be Sages.

141. TMB 14.3.14.

142. JB 1.107.

143. JB 1.153.

144. Vedic Index p. 107, Vol. I.

145. TMB 25.13.3.

146. TMB 25.10.11.

147. TMB 25.10.14.

(3) *The names of places:—*

In the myths we come across certain places to which a particular significance is attached but which cannot be located geographically. They are the following:—

(a) *Munimaraṇa*:—This is the place where the Vaikhānasas, the favourite Sages of Indra were killed by the demon Rahasyu.¹⁴⁸

(b) *Rohita-Kūla*:—The origin of the name of this place is given in a myth. According to this myth Viśvāmitra yoked his chariot and came to the Bharatas. He gave some wealth which was to be given to the Saudantis (a class of priests). It was decided that they should have a running race and the one who is victorious should obtain the wealth. Then Viśvāmitra hold the Saudantis that they should give that wealth to him and that he would give it to the one who would bring his two tawny horses (Rohita) from the other side to this bank of the river (Kūla), over the stony path. But Viśvāmitra decided to obtain the victory himself, so he saw the Rohita Kuliya Sāman. By this he yoked the horses to the chariot and brought them to this bank. This is the significance of the place being called Rohita-Kūla.

(c) *Kāṣṭha*:—According to JB, this is the name of a mountain. The significance of this mountain, is described in a myth, which states that the gods and demons contested for supremacy and the contest was indecisive, as all that was among the gods was among the demons, except for Speech. Agni claimed to have seen it. So the gods created the Dhurā (yoke) with the Akṣara (Syllable). Then having brought forth the Ājyadhurās from these, they decided to divide it, by means of a running race. They fixed a mountain as the goal (Kāṣṭha). Therefore this mountain is called Kāṣṭha.¹⁴⁹

(d) *Kalinda*:—This may signify the country of Kalinga, but we are not certain. The significance of the name of the place Kalinda is that it is the kingdom which was obtained by the Kali Gāndharvas, by the chanting of the Kāleya Sāman.¹⁵⁰

(E) *Geographical Information.*

In the TMB and JB, while the Sārasvata Satras are described we find references to places of Geographical importance. They are the following:—

(a) *Kurukṣetra*:—‘The land of the Kurus’ is one of the sacred places, to which importance is attached even today. Within its

148. JB 2.262.

149. TMB 1.7.1.

150. JB 2.442.

boundaries, the rivers Dr̥ṣadvatī and Sarasvatī flowed. The places Śaryanāvāt and Śaiśava are situated here. As observed from the passage in TA,¹⁵¹ the boundaries of Kurukṣetra are Khaṇḍava on the South, Tūrghna on the north, and the Parinah on the west. The importance and significance of this place is described in a myth which states that Indra and Ruśamā had a bet by which the one who went round the earth and returned was successful. Indra went round the earth and Ruśamā went round Kurukṣetra and claimed victory. Indra accepted her victory. Therefore this myth signifies that the importance of Kurukṣetra is so much that Kurukṣetra stands for the whole earth.¹⁵²

(b) *Sarasvatī*:—It is the name of a river frequently mentioned in the RV. This river is believed to correspond to the present river Sarasvatī which disappears into the sands of Patiala (Vinaśana). In the SV Brāhmaṇas the sacred nature of this river is indicated by the laying down of the Sārasvata Satra, wherein the river Sarasvatī is deified and worshipped. Here it is stated that the gods tried to stabilise Āditya by the river Sarasvatī but she became crooked.¹⁵³

(c) *Plakṣa Prasravaṇa*:—This is the place where the river Sarasvatī rises.¹⁵⁴

(d) *Śaiśava*:—It is the place where the river Sarasvatī is in the form of a water fall.

(F) *Animals, Trees and Herbs.*

Now coming to the animals, trees and the herbs referred to in the SV Brāhmaṇas we find the most important animals referred to are the horse, the goat, and the dog.

(i) (a) The goat and sheep of different kinds are mentioned as creations of Prajāpati.¹⁵⁵

(b) *Aśva*:—The horse is of very great importance and is one of the Dakṣiṇās mentioned, almost in all the rites. In the TMB, all the names of horse are mentioned.¹⁵⁶ Further we find that Agni is identified with Aśva.

(c) *Śyāmā and Śabalā*:—These are Yama's watch dogs. They are black and spotted and are the day and night (JB 1.6).

(d) *Saramā*:—Saramā is a bitch occurring in the Paṇi and Saramā story which is given in the JB for explaining the Abhiplava rite. According to this myth, the Paṇis, who were a class of demons, took the cattle of the gods and having concealed them in the Rasā

151. JB 1.71.

152. AV 6.85.1, 10.3.1.

153. SB 13.8.4.1.

154. TMB 5.3.8, 9.

155. TMB 9.4.10.

156. JB 1.354.

(a river) closed it by a Vala. The gods requested Suparṇā to find out their cows. He accepted to do so and made an attempt. He found the cows, concealed in the Rasā. But the Paṇis won his favour by giving him ghee, milk and curds etc. Having had a fine time Suparṇā flew back to the gods. The gods asked him whether he had seen the cows. He denied. Indra, who saw the particles of curds on his beak cursed him for telling a lie that he had not seen the cows, when he had seen them.

Then they asked Saramā (the bitch) to go in search of the cows. She accepted and started on her journey. She came to the river Rasā but found that she was incapable of being crossed. So she requested the river to become fordable and allow her to cross. First the river refused to comply and then she complied with the request. Saramā, finally reached the place where the cows of the Gods were concealed. The Paṇis offered her also milk and curds. But she refused to take them as she did not wish to act unfavourably to the gods. She, having stayed there among the Paṇis, hungry, came back to the gods. The gods asked her whether she had discovered the cows. She told them that she had found them and that the cows were concealed in the cave beyond the river Rasā and closed it with a Vala. So the gods were extremely pleased with Saramā and Indra promised to provide her with progeny, which is possessed of food. Then by the Abhiplava rite, the gods broke the Vala by which the cows were concealed and won the cows.¹⁵⁷

(ii) *The Trees*:—The most important trees mentioned in the SV Brāhmaṇas are the (a) Audumbara (b) Vāraṇa and (c) Śālmālī.

(a) *The Audumbara tree* plays an important part in the Sacrifice. It is, indeed the very beginning of the duties of the Udgātr, as his first duty is to fix the Audumbara tree in the middle of the Sadas. The Udumbara tree is identified with vigour.¹⁵⁸

(b) The Vāraṇa tree is mentioned in the AV¹⁵⁹ and in the SB¹⁶⁰ and TMB¹⁶¹. In the TMB¹⁶², it is stated that the gods who were afraid of being burnt by Vaiśvānara Agni prevented it by the Vāraṇa branch. This is the significance of the Vāraṇa tree which is used for expiation.

(c) *Śālmālī*—It is the name of a silk cotton tree. It is mentioned in the TMB¹⁶³, where it is stated that when Turaśravas saw

157. JB 1.354.

158. JB 1.354.

159. JB 3.334.

160. TMB 3.9.2.

161. JB 1.22.

162. TMB 8.1.9.

163. JB 3.168.

the Taurāśravas, Sāmāns, at the pressing of the Soma of the Pārāvatas, Indra, took the offering in śālmālī to Turaśrava.

The herbs referred to are mostly those which can be used as substitutes for Soma. They are: Babhru (a tawny coloured-grass); Phālgu (a bright-coloured grass), Ūtikā. In JB, the qualities of each of these is mentioned. The origin of this grass is stated in a myth. According to this Indra killed Vṛtra with the Vajra. The juice which flowed out was reddish and this is the significance of this Babhru grass.¹⁶⁴ The Ūtikā is explained by a myth which states that Indra cast the Vajra on Vṛtra and he thinking that it had not pierced him entered the Ūtika, which endowed him with strength.¹⁶⁵ (ūti). Besides these the use of Sada is advocated. The other herbs mentioned are Śukla Sada and Parṇa. The Parṇa is signified by the leaf (Parṇa) which fell down as the Gāyatrī was carrying the Soma.¹⁶⁶

(G) Other Miscellaneous Contents.

Besides these we find other miscellaneous contents. These are dealt here as under:—(a) Metals (b) Musical Instruments.

(a) *Metals*:—The names of metals are given in a myth,¹⁶⁷ which describes the origin of metals. Gold, which is the best of the metals and which is like Prajāpati, conceived and brought progeny. From these at every stage a metal was created. Therefore first black iron was created, then silver (Rajata), then gold (Harita), then iron was produced from the Jarāyu and finally the Sisava (lead) was generated.

(b) *Musical Instruments*:—The musical instruments mentioned in the TMB are Vīṇā (lute) and Dundubhī (drum). It is interesting to note that by the time of the SV Brāhmaṇas, the distinction among the instruments had become clear. For, in the place where the division of Speech is mentioned the three types of instruments are mentioned viz. Dundubhī (drum-like) instruments; Vīṇā (signifying stringed instruments); and Tūṇava (signifying wind-instruments).

The Bhūmi Dundubhi:—In the treatment of the rites pertaining to the Mahāvrata day it is stated that the Dundubhīs which are placed on all the sides of the Vēdī should be beaten. This is called the Bhūmi Dundubhī.

The Apaghāṭila Vīṇā:—This is a kind of Vīṇā, on which the wives of the Udgātṛs gave accompaniment to the Udgātṛs who chanted.

164. JB 3.352.

165. TMB 2.17.2.

166. TMB 13.12.14.

Vāṇa:—This is another kind of *Viṇā* which has a hundred strings. The hundred strings of this *Viṇā* are compared to the hundred years of a man's life. Therefore it is believed that the one on whose behalf it is played is endowed with a long life.

(H) *The Social Conditions*.

As we have already stated, the myths of the SV Brāhmaṇas throw light on the then prevailing Social conditions. They serve as a means to understand the mind of these seers and other members of the Society of those times. An attempt is made here to depict the society as reflected in the myths of the SV Brāhmaṇas.

(1) *The Caste System*:—The caste system is deep rooted in the Society. The three castes,—the Brahma, Kṣatriya and Vaiśya are prominent. There is an enormous influence of the idea of caste system on the minds of the people as there is not a single idea which does not touch the caste system. Indeed this idea is the mould into which all their thoughts are cast. For instance, in the treatment of the Viṣṭutis of the Catuḥcatvāriṃśa Stoma, it is stated that the three Hinkāras are the abodes of the Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya respectively.¹⁶³ The Sāmāns, Stomas and the metres are divided according to the three castes. The deities are also divided into three accordingly. Thus the development of the significance attributed to the number attains to such a stage that it merges into the concept of Trinity, although the Trinity according to the Sāmaveda, is Agni, Vāyu and Āditya. At times it seems to be a numerical significance as the number of deities are considered to be three, thirty three and so on, signifying an infinite number.

(2) *The Brāhmaṇas*:—They occupy a prominent position in Society. We find the names of certain householders which suggests perhaps that they were divided into groups of householders. Some of these Grhapatis are Aryala Kahola, Kāmyakiyas, Ayasthunagrhapatis. The Brāhmaṇas received good patronage from the kings.

(3) *The Kṣatriyas*:—There was cordial relation between the Brāhmaṇas and the Kṣatriyas. The Kings, as we have seen, engaged in philosophical discussions and expounded philosophical doctrines. They are many times confused and considered to be Sages. So in the SV Brāhmaṇas we find the origin of royal sages. The formulation of doctrines by Kings, perhaps, explains the beginnings of philosophical thought particularly in the Chāndogya Śākhā of the Sāmaveda. It may be noted here that majority of the Upaniṣadic passages in the Vedānta Sūtras come from the Chāndogya. This also explains the later statement of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, viz., "Vedānām Sāmavedo'smi". In some of the myths we find a description of the manner in which these kings received the Brāhmaṇas and prepared themselves for theological discussions. Accord-

ingly, they receive the Brāhmaṇas and honour them separately. Then they retire to their private apartment and clean themselves, pare their nails, shave their beards and wear clean clothes. This is similar to the preliminaries of initiation.

(4) *Philosophical Thought*:—The myths which are at the beginning of the JB, explain the philosophical significance of Sacrifice. This is the main trait of the myths in the JB. In the latter myths, we find that the beginnings of Upaniṣadic Philosophy and Monotheism. But the characteristic trait of all these myths is that they proceed far into the Upaniṣadic field, yet they do not deter from their purpose of glorifying Sacrifice.

(5) *Idea of the heaven and rebirth*:—If we analyse the purpose for which many of the Sāmans were chanted, we find that it was for the attainment of the heaven. But it is interesting to note that according to the seers of the Sāman, the mere attainment of the heaven was not sufficient, one had to stabilize oneself firmly in the heaven and prevent all chances of falling down from it. This is the reason, why we have the Sāmans such as the Śaṅku Sāman etc.

(6) *The idea of Sin*:—But the idea of the impermanence of the heaven follows almost as a corollary to the idea of Sin. Therefore the idea of Sin and expiation of Sin are foremost in the minds of the seers of the Sāmans. The origin of Sin is explained in a myth which states that the gods, who were desirous of conquering the demons, created a sharp weapon in the form of Man. But to their dismay, the gods found that the weapon they had created merely reached the demons and returned. So the gods divided Puruṣa into three and found that the gods and metres had entered him. The gods did not desire that he should come to them immediately. So they created Sin and said that he should live for some years on the earth, doing righteous deeds, and then come to them. The Sins they created were sleep, hunger, lust, anger and greed. Later on the idea of Sin was more developed in the Sāmans, which were used for expiation of Sins such as the swallowing of poisonous food, non-observance of the rites, speaking harshly and and speaking falsely. These Sins are mentioned in the Sām. B. The glorificatory myth of Traisāka Sāmans mentions adult (Pumścalī), bastard (Klība) and mahāpātaka as condemned members of Society.¹⁶⁹

(6) *Belief in Asuric and Supernatural Powers*:—The people had a firm belief in supernatural powers as we find that in SVB the rites are performed to appease certain deities for the appearance of unnatural phenomena or evil potent. In the SV Brāhmaṇas,

we find the mention of female demoneses such as Dirghajihvā, Asamati Rathaprauṣṭha,¹⁷⁰ Uttānaka and Caṇḍatakavāsini.¹⁷¹

(7) *Position of Women*:—The women enjoyed a very good position, it seems, for we find that two women are seers of Sāmans viz. Akūpāra Āṅgīrasi and Āpālā Ātreī.

(8) *Customs of the time*:—Some striking customs such as garlanding as a sign of respect, and the custom of drawing 'Rangoli' are noted here. For, while describing the rites to be performed when supernatural phenomena are perceived, it is stated that one should draw a design of lines on the sacrificial ground. The wearing of turban and red garments for distinction is a characteristic of this time, as we find that the priests wear red garments and turban at the Śyena Yāga. The flower frequently mentioned is the lotus flower.

(9) *Diseases*:—The prevalent diseases were Godhā (a skin disease) and white leprosy (Śvitra).

Thus we see how these myths enlighten us on the Social aspects of those times.

I. *Literary Estimate.*

Now turning to the literary value of these myths, we find that all the other traits of these myths are corresponding to those of the myths of other Brāhmaṇas. But the most outstanding traits of these myths are their similes and their tendency to derive etymology.

(1) *The Similes*:—The very names of the Sāmans, are indicative of this characteristic e.g. the Plava Sāman by which the one who chants is taken by a boat (Plava) to the heaven; Śaṅku Sāman by which one is established in the heaven. Besides the myths themselves contain a number of similes, of which we give a few here. At the place where the Sūrmya Viṣṭuti of the Ekaviṃśa Stoma is explained it is stated that just as gold is cast in the middle of the fire and made to shine better, so too this Viṣṭuti illumines the Sacrificer from both sides and makes him endowed with lustre.¹⁷² In another place where the rite of Atisvara at the end of the seventh day after the Śaḍaha is performed, we find that the maintenance of silence on the seventh day is compared to the bulls who have carried weight for long distances and, therefore are tired.¹⁷³ Thus we find that the Similes in the TMB and JB are striking and are taken from practical life.

Another characteristic trait of these Brāhmaṇas is the tendency to derive the etymology of many of the words, especially the names of Sāmans, e.g. Iśovṛdhiya is derived from 'iśo vṛdha' or 'vṛṣa vṛdha', Vājadāvāri is derived from Vājasya dātrī where Vāja means

'anna' food. The inclination towards Grammar is noticed in the place where we find the mention of all the words, which denote a horse, viz., *aśva*, *haya*, *vṛṣa* etc. Again at another place where the gods conquer the demons by Speech we find the grammatical tendency for the gods give the masculine forms of the numbers and the demons give the feminine forms. Finally when the demons fail to find a pair for 'pañca', the gods conquer the demons.

Therefore we find that in the SV Brāhmaṇas the beginnings of the Vedāṅgas and Śāhitya Śāstra are in its early stages; for though we find a number of similes they are more of a practical nature than of a literary nature. We find the beginnings of the Vedāṅgas such as etymology and grammar in these Brāhmaṇas.

Conclusion.

Thus a review of the contents of these myths present to us the following facts:

(1) It contains information regarding 220 sages, 40 Udgātṛs, and teachers; and the Gotras mentioned.

(2) It gives valuable information regarding the Kings and indicates the origin of philosophical thought from these Kings.

(3) In the third section information is given about the places mentioned in the SV Brāhmaṇas.

(4) The following two sections throw light on the animals, trees, herbs, metals and musical instruments mentioned in the SV Brāhmaṇas.

(5) These myths help to understand the relation between the castes in this period and explain to a certain extent the special significance attached to the Sāmaveda.

(6) They also furnish us with information regarding the details of Society of those times. The varied nature of this information is a special characteristic of these myths.

SHAHI-KASHMIR RELATIONS (A. D. 700 to 1200)

By

KRISHNA SWAROOP SAXENA

The role of the Shahis in defending the North-Western gateways of India against the insistent inroads of the Arabs and the Turks into the country is a noteworthy feature of early mediaeval India. They offered very stiff resistance to these repeated incursions and very often repelled their ultimately victorious armies though finally, with their downfall, the frontiers of India lay open to the inspired armies of Islam. The *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa, an important source of history of the mediaeval times, throws interesting side-lights on the history of these Shahis and the following is an attempt to reconstruct it on the basis of the scattered bits of information regarding them in that monumental work for a period roughly corresponding from C. 700 A.D. to C. 1200 A.D. It should, however, be noted that, according to some scholars, the history of the Shahis dates back to the beginnings of the Christian era and Dr. Ray traces them back to the advent to the Kushāṇas.¹ As such, the Shahi dynasty had had a continued existence as a ruling power for more than a thousand years, a period longer than any other dynasty in the annals of Indian history.

According to Alberuni, the Shahis ruled from Waihand or Waihind as their capital which, according to him, was situated near Peshawar and west of the River Indus.² According to *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* their capital was Udabhāṇḍa, which has been identified by Prof. Sircar as the present-day Und near Attock on the Indus.³ The name is variously noted as Udabhāṇḍa, Udabhāṇḍapura or Udaḥabhāṇḍa, the last-mentioned being the Chinese Wu-to-Kia-hancha (Udaḥabhāṇḍa), of Hieun Thsang.⁴ Another Arabic work, *Hudūd-ul-'Ālam*, composed during the closing quarter of the 10th century A.D. clearly mentions 'Vayhind' as the capital of Shahi king Jayapāla.⁵ Firishta, too, notes that Vaihind was an important city of the Shahis.⁶ Its proximity to the kingdom of Kashmir is clearly established as it was situated between Peshawar and Jhelum,

1. Ray, H.C.: *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. I, p. 69.

2. Sachau: *Alberuni's India*, I, pp. 206, 259, 317; R.T.; IV, 143; 152-55, 232-38.

3. Sircar, D.C.: *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 232.

4. Watters: *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, I, p. 221.

5. Minorsky, V.: *Hudūd-ul-'Ālam*, p. 92.

6. Firishta, vide Sircar, D.C.: *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 232.

the river, flowing through the Valley of Kashmir, must have provided an important link of communication as well.

For the present, as noted above, we are concerned with the history of the Shahis from the 8th to the 12th centuries A.D. and their relations with the rulers of Kashmir during that period. If the suggestions of Dr. Ray and, following him, many scholars, are correct, then during this long run of several centuries many nomadic families must have ruled from Udabhāṇḍa prior to Lalliya Shahi, who, according to some scholars, was Kshatriya, and according to others, a Brāhmaṇa.⁷ According to Dr. Ray, these early Shahi princes were continually engaged seriously in stemming the onslaughts of the Arabs from C. 650-860 A.D.⁸

The Shahis are first referred to in the history of Kashmir when it was being ruled by the mighty Kārkoṭas. During the reign of Lalitāditya Muktāpiḍa the Shahis were defeated by that mighty monarch and their territories annexed to his growing empire. According to the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, the Shahi *Mukhyas* (Shahi princes and chiefs) were subsequently engaged in holding various important administrative offices, including those that had been freshly created by Lalitāditya.⁹ The Shahi princes referred to in *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* are probably the same Shahiyas mentioned by Alberuni hailing from Udabhāṇḍa or Waihind and of whom he gives a fairly detailed account.¹⁰ After some time the Shahis were able to regain their political prestige and independence during the rule of the weak Kārkoṭa rulers.

Beyond these few incidental references noted above, the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* does not favour us with any further account of the Kārkoṭa-Shahi relations. But the Chronicle has much to say of it during the period covered by the ascendancy of the Utpalas and the Loharas. According to the Chronicle, Lalliya was a king of some note and his kingdom was placed between the Daradas and Turushkas on the one side of Āryāvarta (i.e., the Punjab) and Kashmir on the other. It is clear from that work that he had supported Alakhāna, who figures in the Gurjara-Pratihāra-Kashmir relations when Śaṅkaravarman the king of Kashmir, wanted to extend his sway over the Punjab. Alakhāna seems to have been a protege of both Mihira-Bhoja and Lalliya, but was defeated by Śaṅkaravarman who installed a Thakkiya scion in place of Alakhāna.¹¹ Lalliya has been identified with Kallar of Alberuni and his relations with Śaṅkaravarman were quite strained. According to the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, Prabhākaravarmā, a minister of Gopālavarmā, the Utpala ruler, con-

7. Sachau; Alberuni's *India*, II, p. 13; Ray, H.C.; *D.H.N.I.*, I, p. 72.

8. Ray, H.C.; *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. I, p. 70.

9. R.T., Intr., p. 107; IV, 141-43.

10. Sachau; Alberuni's *India*, II, p. 13. See also p. 14.

11. R.T., V, 149-55.

quered the Shahi kingdom (*vyajīyat*) and it appears that the Shahi ruler had, for some unexplained reasons, disobeyed the Utpala king which led to this. But this disobedience real or imaginary, may also be treated as a mere excuse or pretext for the intended attack on the Shahi ruler. The kingdom was, however, again bestowed upon Toramāṇa, a son of Lalliya. According to the Chronicle, the name of Toramāṇa was changed into Kamaluka.¹² The account, in itself, does not make it quite clear about the Shahi ruler defeated and deposed by Prabhākaravarmā. It is interesting to note that Alberuni mentions Sāmānda or Sāmanta as the second ruler who was succeeded by Kamalu or Kamaluka—Toramāṇa of *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*. As such, it is possible that Kamaluka-Toramāṇa replaced the earlier ruler, Sāmanta, and might have connived with Prabhākaravarmā in his attack and gained the throne as a reward. Some light is also thrown on this ruler by another Arabic text, *Jawāmi'ul-Hikāyāt* of Mohammad Afi (1212 A.D.), which makes Kamalu a contemporary of Amr-ibn-Layth, who was governor of Khurasan from A.D. 878-901.¹³ This is quite in keeping with the chronological sequence of events as narrated in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, for it ascribes two years (902-04 A.D.) to Prabhākaravarmā as a *de facto* ruler.

The Shahis seem to have recovered their lost prestige during the troubled days of Kashmir from C. 904-950 A.D. Kamaluka was, during this period, succeeded by Bhīma, and his historicity is quite well established by both Alberuni and Kalhaṇa as well as his coins.¹⁴ Bhīma seems to have further strengthened his position by a matrimonial alliance with Siṃharāja, the Lohara King, whom he gave away his daughter in marriage. The offspring of this union, Diddā, was married to Kshemagupta (950-58 A.D.) and dominated the political scene in Kashmir for nearly 40 years after her husband's demise.¹⁵ Bhīma is also credited with the construction of the temple of Bhīma-Keśava in Kashmir.¹⁶

Meanwhile, affairs in Kashmir itself were none too happy. The death of Kshemagupta in 958 A.D. had left for Queen Diddā, an ambitious lady, a clear field for machinations and a long-feud ensued between her and the Chief Minister, Phalguṇa. About these fateful years of intrigues and decay the only noteworthy reference in the Chronicle is that of the invasion of the Shahi country by Yaśodhara, whom Diddā had raised to the rank of Commander-in-Chief.¹⁷ The Shahi ruler, according to Kalhaṇa, was Thakkana, but it is diffi-

12. R.T., V, 232-233.

13. Elliot, Vol. II, p. 172; Ray, D.H.N.I., I, p. 77.

14. R.T., VII, 1081; Cunningham, A.; C.M.I., p. 64.

15. R.T., VI, 177, 178.

16. R.T., VII, 1081.

17. VI, 230.

cult to place him in the chronological table of the Shahi rulers, as also doubted by Vaidya.¹⁸

The position of Shahis after Bhima was considerably weakened because of the repeated onslaughts of the Islamic forces which were thoroughly organised under capable military leaders of great skill and acumen. Their constant harassing raids were slowly undermining the Shahis who had served as frontier-guards for several centuries. Finally, during the reign of Trilochanapāla, the Shahis lost their political entity and were thenceforth dependent upon the Kashmir kings, living mainly on their monetary allowances and munificence.

It was not without offering stiff and prolonged resistance that the Shahi kings from Jayapāla to Trilochanapāla went down before the Mohemmadan onslaught. For the present we are concerned with the role of Kashmir kings and their relations with the Shahis. When Trilochanapāla was threatened by the impending invasion of Mahmud Ghazni, he appealed to Saṅgrāmarāja (1003-1028 A.D.), the reigning king of Kashmir, for help. The latter sent his general, Tuṅga by name, with a sizable force, which also included local chiefs, to help Trilochanapāla. But the general (Tuṅga), far from heeding advice and counsel from the Shahi ruler, banked too much on his own forces. After an initial success in a border skirmish with Mahmud's forces, Tuṅga became over-confident and, in the ensuing battle, his forces soon fled away leaving Trilochanapāla and three other Kashmiri generals.¹⁹ Trilochanapāla's defeat was complete, though he exhibited extraordinary courage against the invaders. Tuṅga had married his son to Bimbā, a Shahi princess, but he soon became unpopular and was ultimately murdered in the palace along with his son, the Shahi princess (Bimbā) committing herself to flames (Sati).²⁰

The Shahis underwent a temporary eclipse after Trilochanapāla, the family having been offered political assylum in Kashmir. They again rose to command some power in the Kashmir court in the time of Ananta and we hear of Rudrapāla, Diddapāla and Anaṅgapāla drawing handsome emoluments from that ruler.²¹ But, as the Chronicle narrates, they became oppressive and exacting by associating themselves with Kāyastha officials and did not even leave temple property from such exactions.²² It appears from the narrative that Rudrapāla had gained the favour and confidence of young king Ananta, the latter having taken keen interest in Rudrapāla's marriage with the daughter of Induchandra, king of Jālan-

18. Vaidya, C.V.; *H.M.H.I.*, Vol. I, p. 201.

19. *R.T.*, VII, 47-69.

20. *Ibid.*, VII, 103.

21. *Ibid.*, VII, 144-147.

22. *Ibid.*, VII, 148-49.

dhara and Kāṅgrā.²³ Rudrapāla reciprocated this favour by arranging the marriage of his young sister-in-law with king Ananta.²⁴

Soon the evil influence of Rudrapāla on that young king became galling to a section of officers of the Kashmir state. Kalhaṇa relates at great length how a confederacy including seven Mlechchha chiefs was formed by one, Brahmarāja, in league with the Ḍāmaras and the Darada king, Achalamaṅgala. But Rudrapāla rose to great heights and outshone every one in the ensuing battle by killing the Darada king, thus rendering secure the position of king Ananta.²⁵ Unfortunately, he did not survive long and died of some fever and, soon after, other Shahi princes also went his way.

The Shahis are again heard of as favourites of king Kalaśa (1063-1089 A.D.) and wielding great influence at the Kashmir court. Of the four princes of Shahi lineage, Bijja, according to Kalhaṇa, had gained the confidence of Kalaśa and, it appears, helped him in his licentious habits.²⁶ Soon rivalry broke out between Ananta, father of Kalaśa, and the latter. It is on record that while the father was chastising his libidous son, Kalaśa, Bijja boldly took the latter's side and requested Ananta not to punish Kalaśa in his presence.²⁷ Since then Bijja acquired greater respect and confidence of Kalaśa and started asserting himself in administrative affairs as well. This was not to be tolerated by other courtiers headed by one Jayānanda and soon Bijja fell a victim to court intrigues.²⁸ Realising his perilous position, he left on a pilgrimage followed by his trusted men. He is said to have died in Gauḍa-deśa and his younger brother suffered imprisonment. He, however, escaped from captivity and died ingloriously.²⁹

Kalaśa was followed by Utkarsha on the Kashmir throne, but was soon replaced by Harsha (1089-1101 A.D.). Harsha had married several Shahi princesses, headed by Vasantalekhā, a lady of pious nature, who founded many *maṭhas* and *agrahāras*.³⁰ These Shahi queens of Harsha committed themselves to fire when he was direly threatened by revolts.³¹ Nothing more is heard of the Shahis in the Chronicle.

From the foregoing it is quite apparent that the Shahis had had a chequered history in so far as their position vis-a-vis the Kashmir rulers is concerned. Their (Shahi) weakness lay in their peculiar and hazardous geographical position or situation, which

23. *Ibid.*, VII, 152.

24. *Ibid.*, VII, 174-176.

25. *Ibid.*, VII, 174-176.

26. *Ibid.*, VII, 274.

27. *Ibid.*, 325.

28. *Ibid.*, 543-548.

29. *Ibid.*, 565.

30. *Ibid.*, VII, 956, 1470.

31. *Ibid.*, VII, 1550-3, 1571, 1579.

was not fully realized by both Indian and, particularly, Kashmir kings. The constant depredations of the Moslem hordes sapped up their power, for the invaders had very early realised that any attempt to conquer India could not be effectively brought into operation without occupying the Shahi territories. Also, there was a lack of foresight on the part of Shahi kings. They should have maintained much more cordial relations with their Indian and Kashmirian counterparts. This could have been done through matrimonial alliances and by maintaining diplomatic relations in other ways. Coupled with this, they should themselves have taken the offensive against their enemies and not been so very conscientious in their dealings with the invaders. There was also a lack of foresight on the part of the kings of Kashmir who did not fully realise their strategic importance nor also allowed the Shahis to wax strong militarily. On the other hand, they believed in the short-sighted policy of reducing them to a subordinate position. Even at a crucial moment the Kashmiri Commander-in-Chief, Tuṅga, disdained the words of caution by the Shahi ruler and the result was disastrous. Formulation of policies on such wrong assessments of historical realities brought about the downfall of Hindu India.

SANSKRIT CIVILIZATION*

By

H. S. URSEKAR

॥ वाक् ॥ अहं राष्ट्री संगमनी वसूनाम् ॥

Rgveda X 125.3.

Speech: 'I am of the state. I make all that is good come together.'

This Vedic line sums up succinctly the interrelation between language and civilization. What is civilization? Civilization is the advanced stage in social development. The word is derived from the Latin word *Civilizatio*. It is same as *Kultur* in German. The genesis of all civilizations is described by General Smutts, just after the end of the World War I, thus "There is no doubt that mankind is once more on the move. The very foundations have been shaken and loosened, and things are again fluid. The tents have been struck, and the great caravan of Humanity is once more on the march".¹ Thus, civilization symbolizes the onward march of the caravan of mankind, in a word it is the progress of humanity.

Progress springs from the challenge thrown to man by nature. It is a measure of man's success in his war with nature both in its outward and inward aspects. The outward aspect consists in meeting the challenge given by natural physical conditions, in the words of Wordsworth, by 'nature red in tooth and claw'; the insurmountable mountain and the impenetrable forest, the deep river and the deeper ravine, the rainless desert and the merciless tiger.

Science and Art are the twain weapons with which man wages war against nature. Man's aggressive instinct manifests itself in science, while his creative instinct is transfigured into Art. He does not only conquer nature but imitates her too. Science is the instrument of conquest, while Art is the means of imitation and creation. Imitation is the best form of flattery and who refuses to yield to flattery? Certainly not the Dame Nature. Man imitates nature's sound in music, colour in painting, Adam himself in sculpture, caves in architecture and Soul in poetry. Thus with the double-barrelled gun of Science and Art man triumphs over the outward aspect of nature and that is the essence of civilization.

* Paper read at the All India Oriental Conference, Aligarh, 1966.

1. Toynbee: *A Study of History* 1934, Vol. I, 196.

Prof. Toynbee has defined civilization in the following words: "the smallest unit of historical study at which one arrives when one tries to understand the history of one's own country"² This comprehensive definition of civilization embraces the external advancement of man. Man has also to fight against the inner innate enemies like violence, fear, superstition and ignorance, springing from natural instincts and impulses. Man battles with this array of inward foes by education. His triumph over this inward nature is culture. In fine, civilization connotes the material progress of man, while culture spells out his spiritual advancement. According to Arnold, sweetness and light are the manifestations of culture, we may say, aggression and creation are the manifestations of civilization.

History is not a rope of sand declared Lord Acton. It is a continuous development, a moving vista vision of the panorama of time. History unfolds the common fortunes of mankind. Sir Jame Jeans suggests that the Earth is about 2000 million years old, Life is about 300 million years old, Man is about 300 thousand years old, while Civilization is only 6000 years old.³ Taking a unified view of the world history Prof. Toynbee has demonstrated that during the span of 6000 years only 21 civilizations have appeared on the stage of the world. He urges that out of them 16 are extinct while only five are extant, viz. the Western Christian, Orthodox Christian, Islamic, Hindu and Far Eastern.

Each of these present civilizations has its grass roots in some past defunct civilization. According to Prof. Toynbee the Indic or the Indian civilization is the deceased parent of the Hindu Civilization. In his opinion the Indic and Hindu civilizations are two distinct human societies of the Old World, the former being dead and the latter alive. The period of emergence of Indic civilization is from 2000 B.C. to 1000 B.C. and that of Hindu civilization is from 0000 B.C. to 1000 A.D. Thus Indic or Vedic society is the society apparented to the Hindu society. The chief differences between Hindu and Indic religions of the Vedas are due to the elements in Hinduism which were borrowed from Buddhism viz. monasticism and philosophy. Hinduism also borrowed idol-worship, most probably, from Hellenism.⁴ The White (Nordic) and Brown races contributed to the Indic civilization while the Brown race alone contributed to the Hindu civilization.⁵ It is submitted that it is difficult to agree with this view based on a dichotomy of the two societies. This view assumes that there is no continuity of these two civiliza-

2. Toynbee: *Civilization on Trial* 1949, 222.

3. Joyce: *The Universe Around Us*, p. 13.

4. Toynbee: *A Study of History*, Vol. I, 87.

5. Toynbee: *A Study of History*, Vol. I, 239.

tions and that the pristine heritage suffered a hiatus. An attempt is being made in this paper to examine the tenability of this two civilization theory. It is submitted that the Indic and the Hindu civilization constitute an integrated unbroken immemorial heritage which can be called the Sanskrit civilization.

In considering the genesis of civilization Prof. Toynbee has mainly considered the two positive factors of race and environment. It is submitted that the victory gained by a particular race over its natural surroundings would represent only one aspect of civilization viz., subduing of nature by science. But as regards the creative aspect of civilization viz., the art and literature, we have necessarily to reckon a third contributory factor of language. Language lends an essential dimension to civilization. Arnold says that it is a pursuit of our total perfection by means of getting to know, on all matters which most concern us, the best which has been thought and said in the world.⁶ This is the crucial function of speech or language expressed in the Vedic citation set out at the outset. It is through language that the hopes and aspirations of a race, either consistent or conflicting with the environments obtained, are expressed and communicated. It is through language that, to borrow a phrase from Montesquieu, that an intelligent being is rendered yet more intelligent. That is why Milton calls a book as a master-spirit. The first articulate expression of man is a fundamental step of civilization like the discovery of fire. Speiser remarks that writing is an incidental by-product of a strong sense of private property.⁷ Sense of property is essentially an attribute of a civilized society. Thus language and civilization are closely connected. Language is an acutely unifying force which stimulates the commerce of ideas, and the texture of tradition, and ultimately the growth of civilization. Material progress is directly proportional to the progress of ideas. One of the points which distinguishes a primitive society from a civilized one is that the former has no record of history. What Gray calls "the last syllable of recorded time" marks in fact the dawn of civilization. The cuneiform inscriptions excavated in the ancient land of Mesopotamia, the hieroglyphs of the Egyptians, the clay-tablets left by the Phoenician traders and the R̥gveda of India are some of the earliest records of human history available to man. It is from this material that the age of civilization is approximately determined to be about 6000 years. Can we imagine the Greek civilization without the moulding force of the Greek language in which wrote or spoke Socrates and Plato, Homer and Aschelys, or Thysidites and Phythogoras? Penka has maintained that language and race go hand in hand and that language is an organic product

6. Arnold: Culture and Anarchy, p. 11.

7. Quoted by Piggott in Prehistoric India, 1950, p. 178.

of an organism.⁸ In the beginning language is a social phenomena, which is associated with a race. Thus language marks at once the grace and progress of human civilization.

The Aryan race gave rise to the Aryan group of languages known as the Indo-European group consisting of Lithuanian, Tocharian, Greek, Latin, German, Slavonic, Celtic, Sanskrit, etc. Unfortunately as regards its genesis and use the Sanskrit language is an heir to certain misconceptions. It is believed that it is a language of the Gods or of the Hindu religion or that it is an exclusive preserve of the priestly class. The cobwebs of these misconceptions must be cleared for the proper appreciation of the standing and the role of this ancient language. No doubt it is known as Devavāṇī, a language of the Gods.⁹ It is figuratively called the language of the Gods to stress its divine quality of perfectness as a linguistic genus. Perfection is an attribute of God. Sanskrit has as many as 800 roots. Curtius notes that a Greek word admits of 807 modifications, while a Sanskrit verb of 891.¹⁰ That is why Sir William Jones observes that Sanskrit is 'a language which is more perfect than Greek, more copious than Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either'.¹¹ Pāṇini's Sanskrit grammar is one of the greatest achievements of the human intellect. It is a perfect grammar to a perfect language. Prof. Norman Brown has aptly remarked that 'the Paninian system revolutionised western grammatical concepts and started the entire modern treatment of speech.'¹² A Dutch Indologist Berend Faddegon has said that 'I adore Panini because he reveals to us the spirit of India'.

Another misconception about the Sanskrit language is that it is only a language of the Hindu religion. It is a misstatement both historically and literarily. Sanskrit language existed long before the Hindu religion appeared in its present form. Further speaking from the available literature in Sanskrit it will be seen that it is not confined only to religion and philosophy but it contains an infinite treasure of secular writing. Keith has pointed out that 'Sanskrit was the language of science, not merely grammar, prosody, astronomy, phonetics, etymology, but doubtless of more magic arts, such as the physiognomy and demonology'.¹³ Scientific and technical literature on archery, aeroplanes, aesthetics, music, medicine, law, politics and economics is also available abundantly in the Sanskrit language. In fact Sanskrit literature has embraced and enriched the whole gamut of human existence, material and spiritual, in this

8. Penka: *Origines Aricae*, 1883, p. 6.

9. संस्कृतं नाम देवी वागन्वाहयता महर्षिभिः । काण्वादर्श ।

10. Quoted by MaxMuller, *Last Essays*, 1901, p. 12.

11. Report of the Sanskrit Commission 1956-57, p. 72.

12. Role of Oriental Studies in the Humanities, p. 45.

13. Keith: *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 8.

world and elsewhere i.e. the whole scale of Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa. Hence it is fallacious to urge that Sanskrit is a language of ritual and metaphysics only.

A third misconception is that Sanskrit is an exclusive preserve of the priestly class. Keith says that 'Sanskrit represents the language of Brahmanical civilization'. With respect, this is not an adequate conclusion as we find that the non-Brahmins also cultivated Sanskrit and have contributed considerably to the Upanishadic philosophy. Kings like Śūdraka, Aparāka, may also be cited in support of the above proposition. Thus broadly speaking Sanskrit can be taken to represent the entire linguistic and cultural development of the Aryans from the Vedic period up to-date. Let us examine the time, space and cultural content of the Sanskrit civilization.

The date of the emergence of Sanskrit language can certainly be not later than the date of Vedic composition. According to Prof. Toynbee the period of the Indic civilization commences from about 2000 B.C. at the earliest.¹⁴ In Tilak's view the age of the Vedas, on the basis of astronomical data can be carried back to 4500 B.C., when the Vernal equinox was in the Orion.¹⁵ In his illuminating article 'Chaldean and Indian Vedas',¹⁶ he has demonstrated that the Vedic and Chaldean civilizations from Mesopotamia were almost contemporaneous. The Chaldeans have left a record of their civilization in the form of brick inscriptions which M. Lenormant describes aptly as the Chaldean Vedas. Tilak has referred to a record of a treaty between the King of Hittites and the King of Mittani (North Mesopotamia) dating back to 1400 B.C. The treaty was discovered in 1907. The treaty mentions the Vedic Gods like Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra and Aśvins. Tilak concludes 'that Vedic culture and worship were known to and had influenced the Mesopotamian rulers in the fourteenth century before Christ'.¹⁷ This discovery refutes the date of 1200 B.C. assigned to the Vedas by Max Muller. Further Eduard Mayer points out that in about 1760 B.C. Babylone fell into the hands of the Kassites who have used the word 'Surias' to designate the sun.¹⁸ If Tilak is right in his conclusion that the Vedic and the Chaldean civilizations are contemporaneous then necessarily it follows that 4000 B.C. which is the date of the Sumeric civilization (south Mesopotamia) assigned by Prof. Toynbee in his Chronological chart,¹⁹ is also the date of the Indic civilization. It is submitted that the Sanskrit civilization thus can be reasonably said to date back to 4000 B.C.

14. Toynbee: A Study of History, Vol. I, p. 186.

15. Tilak: Orion.

16. Bhandarkar: Commemoration Volume (1917), p. 29.

17. Bhandarkar: Commemoration Volume, p. 32.

18. The Vedic Age, p. 205.

19. Toynbee: A Study of History, Volume I, p. 86.

Further Piggott and Wheeler opine that the Indus Valley Civilization is an indigenous non-Aryan civilization, contemporaneous with the Vedic civilization. Piggott says 'The forts of the Dasyus are the citadels of the Harappa civilization, wrecked and plundered by the war-bands who invoked Indra, Lord of Hosts, as they slaughtered those who would not accept his supremacy'.²⁰ About the Harappan civilization Wheeler has remarked that 'Here we have a highly-evolved civilization of essentially non-Aryan type, now known to have employed massive fortifications, and known also to have dominated the river-system of north-western India at a time not distant from the likely period of the earlier Aryan invasions of that region. On circumstantial evidence, Indra stands accused'.²¹

The Indus civilization is believed to date back to about 3000 B.C. This brings the age of R̥gveda to about 5000 years, which lends assurances in turn to the date of about 4000 B.C. of the beginning of the Sanskrit civilization. In conclusion we may say that Sanskrit civilization can be regarded as one of the oldest civilizations like that of Babylonia, Sumeria or Egypt, on the basis of astronomical, linguistic philological and archeological data. It may be recalled that the dawn of civilization is placed at about 6000 years by Prof. Toyanbee and Sir James Jeans.

As regards the location of the home of the Aryans there are diametrically opposite views. According to Tilak the original cradle of the Aryans was in the Polar regions.²² For this hypothesis he inter alia relies upon the Vedic imagery of prolonged nights and dawns. Penka also independently comes to the same conclusion. B. K Ghosh contends on the strength of comparative philology that having regard to the geographical distribution of the idioms of the Indo-European speech-family, probably the original Aryan home was in Europe. He refers specially to the Lithuanian in this behalf.²³ On the other hand Piggott says that the most reasonable hypothesis satisfying the demands of philology and archaeology is the view that the Indo-European languages evolved among the earliest agriculturists of the South Russian Steppes and the land eastwards to the Caspian Seas.²⁴ The view is shared by J. L. Myres, Peake and Childe, Schrader and Jhering. From southern Russia one branch of the Aryans migrated towards north-western Europe which later on emerged as the Greeks, Italians Germans and Celts. The other branch swerved towards south-east into Persia and India. It is known as the Indo-Iranian period. One branch of the Aryans came down into India. According to Piggott the R̥gveda seems to repre-

20. Prehistoric India, Piggott, p. 263.

21. Wheeler: The Indus Civilization, 1963, p. 91-92.

22. Tilak: Arctic Home in the Vedas.

23. Vedic Age, p. 202.

24. Prehistoric India, Piggott, p. 248.

sent the entrance phase of the Aryans in India. He says that in the *R̥gveda* the Aryans are depicted as conquering heroes and scant tribute is paid to their contemptible opponents, more skilled in the arts of peace than in those of warfare.²⁵

Let us turn to the cultural content of the Sanskrit civilization. Apart from the rival hypothesis as to the Polar, European or Asian home-lands of the ancient Aryans and regardless of the controversial contentions about its probable date it is clear that Sanskrit has been the medium through which the civilization of India has found its expression. We have evidence of common stock of Mythology. The Vedic god *Dyaus*—*Pitar* was an Indo-European God. In the *Mittanni* treaty of 1400 B.C., Vedic Aryan Gods are mentioned. This shows that the roots of Sanskrit civilization reach as far back as the Indo-European and Indo-Iranian periods.

The Aryan chariot is traced by Piggott to the west.²⁶ At Boghez Keui a fragmentary hand-book on chariot racing is discovered. It is written by a Mittannian named Kikkuli. The book uses Sanskrit technical terms like *Ekavartanam* etc. It is well known that chariot racing was a favourite sport of the Aryans in India.²⁷ Piggott relates back the Aryan weapons of bows and arrows and knives to the Indo-European traditions.

The ritual of the Aryans *Aśvamedha*, which was performed in the *R̥gvedic* times by King *Sudās*, is found among *Altai Turks* of the modern times and survived till 12th Cen. A.D. in Ireland.²⁸

The seven-note scale of the present music is traced to the instrumental music of western Asia.²⁹ The Aryan music with its cymbals, drums, flutes and lutes is continued from Vedic times till today. *Bharata* in his *Nāṭya-Śāstra* has given an elaborate account of the Indian music. I have referred to this aspect of the civilization in my paper 'Music in Sanskrit drama' read before the *Gauhatti Session of The All India Oriental Conference 1965*. It is being published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society, Bombay*. There are people who sing the *Sāmaveda* which is mostly a musical notation of the *R̥gvedic* hymns.

There is also a continuity in the ritualistic and social and legal traditions down the corridor of ages. The Greeks and the Romans also followed the cult of ancestral worship and believed in the idea of *pater-families*. It was believed by the Greeks that a soul could not rest in peace unless food was given to it. Similarly the worship of the sacred fire was known to the Greeks and Romans.

25. Piggott, p. 258.

26. Piggott, p. 274.

27. Piggott, p. 251.

28. Piggott, p. 247.

29. Piggott, p. 271.

It is the Agni-Hotra of the Aryans. The institution of the sacrifice was known to the Greeks and the Romans. There used to be an altar in every Greek and Roman household. The altar *vedi* in Sanskrit was called *vesta* in Greek and Latin. Under the Institutes of Justinian a female was excluded from inheritance. Similar rule of exclusion is obtained in the Sanskrit Dharmaśāstra. The marriage rites of the ancient Romans smack of the Rākṣasa Vivāha of the Hindus wherein the bride is kidnapped forcibly by the groom from among the crowd of protesting in-laws.

Sanskrit was discovered for the west by a Florentine merchant Filippo Sassetti in Goa, in the 16th century. He declared for the first time to Europe that there exists a definite relation between Sanskrit and some of the European languages. That this relation is due to a common source was revealed in 1786 by Sir William Jones. He spoke of the common origin of Greek, Latin, Gothic, Celtic, Sanskrit, Persian etc. as belonging to the Indo-European or Indo-Germanic family of languages. Similar view was expressed earlier in 1767 by Coeurdoux a French missionary. This was the genesis of the science of comparative philology. Words denoting family relationship, elementary human activities, numerals etc. are discovered almost to be akin. For 'father' the Sanskrit word is *Pitar*, Latin-*Pater*, Germanic-*Fadar*, Irish-*Athir*, Tocharian-*Patar* and so on. Horse is in Sanskrit *Aśva*, *equus* in Latin, *ech* in Celtic and in Lithuanian *aszwa*.

Sanskrit *ratha* (chariot) is *Rota* in Latin, *Roth* in Celtic and *Ratas* in Lithuanian meaning wheel. Sleep is *swapā* in Sanskrit, *sleps* in Gothic, *Schlaff* in German, *Slabu* in old slavonic and *slopsta* in Lithuanian. The similarity in the numerals is too well-known e.g. one is *Eka* in Sanskrit, *Onie* in Greek, *Unus* in Latin, *Ains* in Gothic, *Un* in French. In this connection Max-Muller has rightly remarked that a knowledge of Sanskrit is a *sine qua non* for every comparative philologist, whether his special subject be Aryan, Semitic or Turanian Philology'. . . . Sanskrit will always maintain its pre-eminence, as affording to the best discipline to the student of language.³⁰ Thus mythology, music, art of war, philology, ritual, law, and social customs all point out to a common unbroken tradition which we may call as the Sanskrit civilization so far as its manifestation in India is concerned.

The contribution of Sanskrit language to literature is well-recognised. Sanskrit can boast of religious and secular as well as scientific and technical literature. Sanskrit has produced authors of a world class and renown in different fields of creative activity, a grammarian like Pāṇini, a philosopher like Śaṅkara, a Bharata whom

30. Max Muller, Last Essays, p. 3.

scholars refer to as the Aristotle of Indian Dramaturgy, a political thinker like Kauṭilya, who is called the Indian Machiavalli, Vyāsa and Vālmiki who share epic genius with Homer and Virgil, Manu and Yājñavalkya the great law-givers, Mammaṭa and Daṇḍin the masters of aesthetics and last but not the least Kālidāsa and Śūdraka who evince the touch of the Shakespearean genius. The most remarkable peculiarity of Sanskrit literature is that it is original, being uninfluenced by foreigners either in diction, imagery or thought-content. It is a product of the soil. Macdonell says that "the importance of the ancient Indian literature, as a whole largely consists in its originality. Naturally isolated by its gigantic mountain barrier in the north, the Indian peninsula has ever since the Aryan invasion formed a world apart, over which a unique form of Aryan civilization rapidly spread, and has ever since prevailed".³¹

It will be seen that Sanskrit has enriched the life of man immeasurably both in the realm of thought and belles lettres. Prof. Filliozat has observed that the Oriental studies have enlarged the horizon of all classical national humanities.³²

It is a fatal fallacy to call Sanskrit a dead language. Dead language is a language which is spoken by men who are dead and gone. Sanskrit is a living dynamic organism. Creative faculty is the sine-quo-non of life. Sanskrit is still a fruit-bearing language and not a barren dame. Literature is being produced in modern literary forms like short stories etc., Poetry, drama, biography, etc. are being written in Sanskrit now. Dramas on modern subjects are being written. Dramatic festivals are held. In 1960 eight Sanskrit plays were presented to packed houses in Bombay. Dr. S. N. Varnekar of Nagpur has published in Marathi a catalogue of Modern Sanskrit literature covering the period from 16th Cen. upto 1960. Some people carry on correspondence in Sanskrit. Journals are being published. One daily called Sanskriti is being brought out at Pandharpur in Maharashtra.

Question is sometimes raised whether Sanskrit was at any time a spoken language. I submit yes. The theory of the origin of language that it arose out of the imitation of natural sounds like cries of birds, shouts of animals or patter of rain or thunder of clouds sounds to be plausible. It is well accepted that the spoken word appeared first and writing followed subsequently. Spoken language was known to the primitive societies but the Art of writing is the hall-mark of a civilized society only. Ṛgveda was composed long before the art of writing was known to the Indian. One of the vital factors in Vedic interpretation is the accent on the Vedic

31. Macdonell: A History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 6.

32. Role of Oriental Studies in the Humanities, p. 28.

words.³³ Accent cannot assume such a decisive importance unless the words were spoken. The whole Vedic lore is in fact handed down by an uninterrupted oral tradition. In Yāska's Nirukta it is mentioned that शवतिर्गतिकर्मा कम्बोजेषु एव भाषते । विकारमस्य आयेषु भाष्यन्ते ॥ This shows how the word Śavati was spoken differently in Kamboja and the Aryas. These dialectic details clearly proved that Sanskrit was a spoken language then. In Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya—Sanskrit is referred to as Bhāṣā (spoken language). In the Sanskrit dramas higher characters speak in Sanskrit and it is significant to note that even the ladies and menials understood it, though they reply in Prakrit. It was spoken by the Brahmins and Kshatriyas, it appears and was understood by the rest at one stage in history. Thereafter it fell into disuse and was substituted by Prakrit the language of the masses.³⁴

In 1961 census 2544 persons have registered Sanskrit as their mother tongue. Lectures and discussions take place in Sanskrit. In debating unions modern topics are discussed in Sanskrit. Besides there are Sanskrit Universities, Colleges and Paṭhaśālās. All India Radio broadcasts through its net work of 28 stations about 800 programmes annually in Sanskrit. Bonn Radio in West Germany also relays a fortnightly broadcast in Sanskrit for their South-East Asian listeners.

The Indian constitution has recognized Sanskrit as one of the 15 languages of the country. Article 351 enjoins the Union of India to draw primarily upon Sanskrit in developing Hindi which is declared to be the official language of the Union (Article 343). In the 4th five year plan twenty-million rupees are allocated for the promotion of Sanskrit. Most of the mottoes adopted by the Union and State Government are in Sanskrit. Further Sanskrit is the moulding matrix of almost all languages in India. As rightly observed by the Sanskrit Commission the Indian People and the Indian civilisation were born, so to say in the lap of Sanskrit.³⁵

A few examples will serve to illustrate this remarkable continuity in Indian civilisation. Sanskrit is still spoken as the tongue of the learned by thousands of Brāhmaṇas, as it was centuries before our era. Nor has it ceased to be used for literary purposes, for many books and journals written in the ancient language are still produced. . . . The Vedas are still learnt by heart as they were long before the invasion of Alexander, and could even now be restored from the lips of religious teachers if every manuscript or printed copy of them were destroyed. A Vedic stanza of immemorial

33. Bhandarkar; Com. Vol. Macdonnell: The Principles to be followed in translating R̥gveda, p. 17.

34. प्राकृतः प्रकृतेति । सहजोवचना व्यापारप्रवृत्तिः

35. Sanskrit Commission Report, p. 73.

antiquity, addressed to the sun-god Savitr, is still recited in the daily worship of the Hindus. The god Viṣṇu, adored more than 3000 years ago, has countless votaries in India at the present day. Fire is still produced for sacrificial purposes by means of two sticks, as it was in ages even more remote. The wedding ceremony of the modern Hindu, to single out but one social custom, is essentially the same as it was long before the Christian era'.³⁶

F. W. Thomas in his presidential address at the All India Oriental Conference held at Trivendrum in 1937 has pointed out two remarkable features of this civilization viz. Unity in the midst of bewildering diversity and its emphasis on thinking. He says 'the Indian Man has been more of a thinker than are other men'.³⁷

It will be appreciated by now that it is difficult to reconcile one self to the view of Prof. Toynbee that the Indic civilization is defunct or that it is a civilization which differs from the living Hindu civilization. The two principle arguments advanced by Prof. Toynbee in this behalf are that the Hindu civilization has borrowed idol Worship most probably from the Greeks.⁴ Here we may consider the images of Shiva on the seals discovered in the Indus Valley excavations. Wheeler opines that 'Here if anywhere may be recognized one of the pre-Aryan elements which were to survive the Aryan invasions and to play a dominant role in the so-called Aryan culture of the post Vedic period'.³⁸ This Śiva who is identified as Pāsupati by Marshall emerged as Śiva in the post-Vedic period. Thus it is improbable that the Aryans copied idol worship from the Greeks. On the other hand it appears to be more reasonable to infer that the Aryans were inspired by the Indus Valley civilization. Besides the institution of idol Worship must be regarded as a step further in the religious beliefs of the Aryans. We fail to see how it can be said to alter its essential character.

Secondly, Prof. Toynbee has argued that Hindu civilization borrowed Buddhist monasticism and philosophy. It is well known that Buddhism is a dissenting sect of Hinduism itself and that the Buddhist philosophy is rooted in the Upanishadic one. Monasticism in nothing more than the collective practice of Sannyāsāśrama which is one of the principle stages in the life of a Hindu. It is submitted that these additional elements have not changed the face of the original Indic civilization, nor it has a fatal effect on it, but if at all, these accretions have enlarged the scope of the Indic civilization. This only highlights the open-armed receptive tendency of this great heritage.

36. Macdonell: A History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 6-7.

37. Report of the Sanskrit Commission, p. 80.

38. Wheeler: Indus Civilization, p. 83.

It is true that the White and Brown — races contributed to the Indic civilization and that the Brown race to the Hindu civilization. But race, as it is already pointed out, is not the sole factor which determines a civilization and that language also plays an effective role in moulding the phenomena of human advancement. Hence I propose to call this pristine uninterrupted civilization as the Sanskrit civilization. It is this dominant factor of Sanskrit language which has been running continuously in an unbroken succession throughout the texture of this ancient civilization. Prof. Toyanbee considers race and environment as the two principle factors determining a civilization. It will be noticed that these two factors have suffered a change in the course of time. The White race has yielded place to the Brown. The environments, changed from the possible polar chill to the European equable climate or the Asian heat. But throughout the golden web of this ancient civilization is discerned the one immutable factor viz. that of the Sanskrit language. It has never disappeared from the canvas.

Prof. Toyanbee has categorized civilizations on the basis of religion as in case of the Christian or Islam or on the ground of geography as in the case of the Far-Eastern. It is therefore submitted that to call this civilization by the additional factor of language will not be illogical.

The progress of the Sanskrit civilization might have been arrested during the march of history but there never was a break in the continuity of the Sanskrit civilization. The scheme of history does disclose a rhythm of progress. The achievement of the Sanskrit civilization may be stated to be like the unbounded ocean, no doubt it has its ebbs and tides, but it is a civilization which has withstood the ravages of time and space and is eternal in its enrichment of the soul of man. Thus the Sanskrit civilization must be reckoned as a powerful reality, a living force, influencing the life of a large section of humanity. Hence it is submitted that what Prof. Toyanbee classifies as two different civilizations viz. the defunct Indic and the dynamic Hindu civilization may be tagged on together and labelled as the integrated Sanskrit civilization which is quite alive and alert throughout the span of 6000 years.

We may conclude with the inspiring words of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru "If I was asked what is the greatest treasure which India possesses and what is her finest heritage, I would answer unhesitatingly it is the Sanskrit language and literature, and all that it contains. This is magnificent inheritance and so long as this endures and influences the life of our people, so long the basic genius of India will continue".

CHRONOLOGY OF APABHRAMŚA WORKS

By

N. A. DESHPANDE*

Though critical editions of some Apabhramśa works have been brought out by eminent scholars, yet much remains to be done in the matter of the chronology of Apabhramśa works. Here I have made an attempt at arranging chronologically as many Apabhramśa works as I could come across. Certain works dealing with Apabhramśa language and grammar or written partly in Apabhramśa and partly in some other language are included. For the sake of convenience the works are categorized under four periods as : (I) Works before 500 A.D. (II) 501 to 1000 A.D. (III) 1001 to 1500 A.D. (IV) 1501 A. D. and after. In the end are listed works the authors or dates of which cannot be correctly fixed for want of corroborative evidence.

I. Works before 500 A.D.

विक्रमोर्वशीयम् - कालिदास (4th C.A.D.). Certain verses are in the Apabhramśa language.

II. Works during the period from 501 A.D. to 1000 A.D.

परमात्मप्रकाश, योगसार and दोहाप्राभृत - योगीन्द्रदेव prior to 6th C.A.D. (For योगीन्द्रदेव see Dr. A.N. Upadhye's article in the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, XII pp. 151 ff.)

महापुराण, यशोधरचरित, नागकुमारचरित - पुण्ड्रन्त. He began his literary career in S. 881 (Anekānta, Vol 14, Kirāṇa 10, p. 292). महापुराण is his first work which he began in S. 881 and completed in S. 887. In his introduction to महापुराण he says that he wrote this work at the request of Bharata, minister of King Śubhatuṅga. The other two works were written at the request of Bharata's son, Nanna (Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in CP and Berar—Introduction by Rai Bahadur Hiralal—pp. 43—47).

पञ्चमचरिय, रामायणपुराण and हरिवंशपुराण - स्वयम्भू. Completed by his son विभुवन स्वयम्भू Circa 8th to 10th C.A.D.

काव्यमीमांसा - राजशेखर Circa 9th C. A.D.

नयचक्र, दर्शनसार, भावसंग्रह, आराधनासार, तत्त्वसार and श्रावकाचार. - देवसेन, Guru of माइल्लघवल. श्रावकाचार is wholly in Apabhramśa. (Cat. of Sk. and Pkt. Mss. in CP and Berar, Intro p. 47). (see H.L. Jain's Intro. to his edition of श्रावकाचार p. 135 ff and Dr. A. N. Upadhye's Intro. to परमात्मप्रकाश p. 58ff). Is he also the author of जयकुमारचरित or जयसुकुमारचरित ?

कथाकोश - श्रीचन्द्रमुनि According to the Cat. of Sk. and Pkt. Mss. in CP and Berar, Intro p. 49 ff. his spiritual genealogy is: श्रीकीर्ति - श्रुतकीर्ति - गुणाकरकीर्ति - वीरचन्द्र and श्रीचन्द्र. In the प्रशस्ति to the work the author

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says that he wrote it during the regime of king Mūlarāja of Anhilvad (941 A. D. to 996 A.D.).

भविष्यत्तकहा - घनवाल. पाइयलच्छीनाममाला and तिलकमञ्जरी - घनवाल The former was written in S. 1029.

प्राकृतलक्षण - चण्ड. After the 6th C. A.D. but before हेमचन्द्र, who flourished in the 11th C. A.D. धर्मपरीक्षा - हरिवेण, completed in S. 1044.

III. Works during the period from 1001 A.D. to 1500 A.D.

जम्बुस्वामिचरित्र - वीरकवि in S. 1076 (Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara, Vol 9, Kiraṇa 10, p. 394).

जम्बुचरित्र - सागरदत्त in S. 1076.

मुदशनचरित्र, आराधना - नयनन्दी. The former was written in S. 1100. His spiritual genealogy according to the Cat. of Sk. and Pkt. Mss. in CP and Berar, Intro. p. 51 is— पद्मन्दी - रामन्दी - माणिक्यन्दी and नयन्दी.

काव्यालंकारटिप्पण - नमिसाधु in S. 1125.

कालकाचार्यकथा - देवेन्द्र in S. 1132.

जयतिहुयणस्तोत्र - अभयदेवसूरि, pupil of जिनेश्वर and of बुद्धिसागरसूरि of खरतरगच्छ. Out of 21 works attributed to him, औपपातिकसूत्रवृत्ति was composed in S. 1115 and भगवतीसूत्रवृत्ति in S. 1128. जयतिहुयणस्तोत्र, therefore, belongs, roughly to this period.

उपदेश (धर्म) रसायनरास, कालस्वरूपकुलक, चर्चरी - जिनदत्तसूरि pupil of जिनवल्लभ and grand pupil of अभयदेवसूरि, author of जयतिहुयणस्तोत्र. जिनदत्तसूरि was born in S. 1132, and he died in S. 1211. (Dr. Bhandarkar's III Report of a tour in search of Sk. Mss. p. 48).

प्राकृतव्याकरण, कुमारपालचरित्र - हेमचन्द्र, born in 1088 A.D.

पार्वपुराण - पद्मकीर्ति 11th C. A.D.

ऋषभचरित्र - वर्धमानसूरि in S. 1160.

मुलसाचरित्र, शान्तिनाथचरित्र - देवचन्द्र, Guru of हेमाचार्य; शान्तिनाथचरित्र was composed in S. 1160.

सुभद्राचरित्र - अन्नयमणि in S. 1161 (Patan Catalogue I, pp. 158-159).

माणिक्यप्रस्तारिकाप्रतिवद्धरास- The author belongs to a period earlier than S. 1174 as यशोदेव उपाध्याय refers to this work in his नवतत्त्वभाष्यविवरण, dated S. 1174.

हरिवंशपुराण - घवल pupil of अंबसेन, son of सुर, a Brahmin circa 11th C. A.D. In this work the author mentions the following authors and works: (1) घोरसेन Called कविचक्रवर्ती, (2) देवनन्दी, author of जैनद्रव्याकरण, (3) वज्रसूरि, (4) महासेन, author of मुलोचनाचरित, (5) रविषेण, author of पद्मपुराण, (6) जिनसेन, author of हरिवंशपुराण, (7) जडिलमुनि, author of वराङ्गचरित, (8) दिनकरसेन, the author of अर्नगचरित, (9) पद्मसेन, the author of पार्वचरित, (10) घनदत्त, author of चन्द्रप्रभचरित, (11) अन्नसेन, the author of अमृताराधना, (12) विन्ध्यसेन, (13) सिंहनन्दी, author of अनुप्रेक्षा, (14) सिद्धसेन, author of भव्यविनोद, (15) रामनन्दी, author of many stories, (16) असग, author of वीरचरित, (17) गोविन्द, author of सनत्कुमारचरित, (18) जिनरक्षित, expounder of जयघवल, (19) शालिभद्र, author of जीवउद्योत, (20) चतर्मुख, author of पद्मचरित, (21) द्रोण. Of these रविषेण's पद्मपुराण was written in A.D. 678. जिनसेन's हरिवंशपुराण was completed in Śaka 705; and असग wrote in Śaka 910. घवल, therefore, must have lived a little later. (See Cat. of Sk. and Pkt. Mss. in CP. and Berar, Intro. pp. 48-49.)

पद्मश्रीचरित - चाहिल. According to Jinaratnakośa, Vol. I.P.234 "The Ms. (of पद्मश्रीचरित) forms the second part of another which is dated Sam. 1191." This shows that चाहिल flourished before S. 1191. If चन्द्रसूरि, the pupil of घनेश्वर is the same as पार्श्वकवि, then चाहिल is चन्द्रसूरि's son. चन्द्रसूरि composed his न्यायप्रवेशपञ्जिका in S. 1169 and निशीथसूत्रचूर्णवृत्ति in S. 1173. पार्श्व is said to have helped his Guru घनेश्वर in the composition of the वृत्ति on सार्धशतक in S. 1173, so चाहिल must have flourished in the 12th and 13th C. A.D.

विलासवईकहा - साधारण, afterwards known as सिद्धसेनसूरि, pupil of यशोदेव, pupil of शान्तिसूरि, — in S. 1193.

नेमिनाहचरिय-हरिभद्र, pupil of चन्द्रसूरि, pupil of जिनचन्द्र of बृहत् or बड गच्छ — in S. 1216, during the reign of Kumārapāla.

उपदेशमालादोषट्टी — part in Apabhramśa — रत्नप्रभ, pupil of देवसूरि, pupil of मुनिचन्द्र of बृहद्गच्छ in S. 1238.

कुमारपालप्रतिबोध-सोमप्रभ, in S. 1241. सोमप्रभ was the pupil of विजयसिंह, pupil of अजितदेवसूरि, pupil of मानदेव and मुनिचन्द्र of बृहद्गच्छ. He was a joint पट्टधर of the बृहद्गच्छ with मणिरत्न. They are No. 43 of the Tapā List. Paṭṭāvali—I. p. 56, ll. 19-20.

षट्कर्मोपदेश-अमरकीर्ति in S. 1247 (1274?).

जगत्सुन्दरीप्रयोगमाला, चन्द्रप्पहचरिय-यशःकीर्ति, pupil of ललितकीर्ति. The latter is mentioned as the Guru of शुभचन्द्रदेव. He died in A.D. 1213 (Medieval Jainism p. 379). If this ललितकीर्ति is also the Guru of यशःकीर्ति, then यशःकीर्ति flourished during the 12th and 13th C. A.D. In any case he is earlier than S. 1652; for the MS. of one of his other works viz धर्मशर्माभ्युदयटिप्पण or सन्देह-ध्वान्तदीपिका is dated S. 1652 (Pannalal Jain Saraswati Bhavan, Bhuleshwar, Bombay, List No. IV p. 92).

सन्देशरासक - अब्दुल रेहमान 12th C. A.D.

अन्तरंगसंधि - रत्नप्रभ, pupil of धर्मप्रभ. MS. in S. 1311; but according to the list of MSS in the Bhandar at the Agali Sheri, Pofalia Wada, Patan, palm 16, धर्मप्रभ himself is the author of अन्तरंगसंधि.

अणुव्रतरत्नप्रदीप - लक्ष्मणकवि in S. 1257, when Āhavamalla of the Chouhan dynasty was ruling (Jain Siddhānta Bhāskara, Vol. IV, Kiraṇa 3, p. 155).

अनाधिसंधि, अन्तरंगरास, अन्तरंगविवाह, गौतमचरित्रकुलक, चतुर्विधभावनाकुलक, चर्चरो, चैत्यपरिपाटी, छप्पनदिशाकुमारीजन्माभिषेक, जिनजन्ममह, जिनमहिमा, जिनागमबचनस्तव, जीवानुशास्ति संधि, ज्ञानप्रकाशकुलक, धर्माधर्मविचार, नर्मदासुन्दरीकथा, नेमिनाथजन्माभिषेक, नेमिनाथरास, पश्चात्तापकुलक, पार्श्वनाथजन्माभिषेक, भव्यकुटुम्ब, भव्यचरित्र, भावनाकुलक, मदनेसासंधि, मल्लिनाथचरित्र, मुनिसुव्रतस्वामिस्तोत्र, मोहराजविजय, युनादिजिनचरित्रकुलक, वज्रस्वामिचरित्र, श्रावकविधि, सर्वचैत्यपरिपाटीस्वाध्याय, साधमिकवास्तव्यकुलक, सुभाषितकुलक.

These are attributed to जिनप्रभसूरि, pupil and successor of जिनसिंहसूरि of खरतरगच्छ - वज्रस्वामिचरित्र was composed in S. 1316. So the date of जिनप्रभ is 13th and 14th C.A.D. It is difficult to arrange his works in a chronological order.

A प्रशस्ति, महावीरजन्माभिषेक - जयमङ्गल in S. 1319. He is the pupil of रामचन्द्रसूरि, pupil of वादिदेव of बृहद्गच्छ.

नर्मदासुन्दरीसंधि (ms. S. 1328), गौतमस्वामिचरित्र (ms. S. 1338)—जिनप्रभशिष्य.

वज्रस्वामीचरित्र - वरदत्त. 13th C. A.D. (Jaina Gurjara Kavio, part I p. 78; Dr. Gune's Intro. to भविसत्तकहा, p. 43)

करकण्डुचरित - कनकामर. He mentions both स्वयम्भू and पुण्यदन्त. The latter is said to have flourished in the 10th C.A.D. during the reign of Krishna III of the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty (Cat. of Sk. and Pkt. Mss. in CP and Berar, Intro. pp. 43-47).

संजममञ्जरी - हेमहंससूरि (शिष्य ?) pupil and successor of पुण्यचन्द्र. A MS of this was caused to be written by शान्तिमूरि of the पिप्पलगच्छ. One शान्तिमूरि, pupil of गुण(प्त)समुद्र of पिप्पलगच्छ lived in S. 1454; another, pupil of गुणसागर of the same गच्छ lived in S. 1554 (Dhātupratimālekha, Vol I, 53 and Vol II, 340). Even if the latter शान्तिमूरि is taken as one that caused the MS to be written, the date of हेमहंस is earlier than 1500 A.D.

वड्डमाणचरित - विबुधश्रीधर, approximately V.S. 14th C. वड्डमाणकव्व - लिबम्म, son of देवराम, (For both, see Anekānta, Vol IV, Kirāṇa 9, p. 520)

उपदेशरत्नमाला, करकण्डुचरित्र, जयकुमारचरित्र, जिनदत्तचरित्र, जीवधरचरित्र, दशलक्षण-जयमाला, पद्मपुराण, पार्श्वनाथपुराण वर्धमानचरित्र, व्रतसार, श्रीपालचरित्र, सन्मतिजिनचरित्र, सुकोशलचरित्र-रङ्गू पंडित or कवि. In पद्मपुराण, the author says that Dungara-simha was ruling at Gwalior when this work was composed (Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara XI p. 95). The सुकोशलचरित्र was composed in S. 1496 (ibid, X, pp 55 to 59). (About the identity of रङ्गू and सिंहसेन, the author of आदिपुराण also called महेश्वरचरित्र or मेघेश्वरचरित्र see Allahabad University Studies, Vol I, pp. 174, 175, and Jaina Hitaiṣi, XIII pp. 103-106).

IV. Works after 1501 A.D. and after :

उपदेशतरंगिणी - रत्नमंदिर, A few phakarā in Apabhrāmśa. His प्रबन्धराज was composed in S. 1517. So he flourished in the 15th and 16th C.A.D.

अमरसेनचरित - माणिकराज in S. 1576.

जगत्सुन्दरीप्रयोगमाला - हरिवेण in S. 1582.

शान्तिनाथचरित्र - महिन्दु. completed in S. 1587.

वेतालपञ्चशिका - A few gāthās in Apabhrāmśa—सिंहप्रमोद in S. 1602. The spiritual genealogy of सिंहप्रमोद is: सोमविमलसूरि—उदयचरणप्रमोद—कुशलप्रमोद—विवेकप्रमोद - सिंहप्रमोद of तपागच्छ.

भावनासंधि - जयदेवमुनि pupil of शिवदेवसूरि (Hamsa List) in S. 1606; but according to the list of MSS in the Bhandar at the Agal Sheri, Pofalia Wada, Patan, palm 67, शिवदेवसूरि himself is the author.

वर्धमानकाव्य - जयमित्र हल्ल in S. 1608.

प्राकृतरूपावतार-सिंहराज. According to Dhātupratimālekha, 448, one सिंहराज of the आगम गच्छ lived in S. 1503. (See also Dr. Gune's Intro. to भविसत्तकहा p. 68)

प्राकृतसर्वस्व - मार्कण्डेय - 17th C.A.D.

V. Works the dates or authors of which cannot be correctly decided for want of corroborative evidence :

अञ्जनासुन्दरीकथा, अनन्तव्रतकथानक, अवन्तिसुकुमारसंधि, आरात्रिकण्वणादि, उद्धरण-कहा, उपदेशकुलक-देवसूरि, उपदेशसंधि-हेमसार, ऋषभजिनस्तुति, ऋषभचवल, ऋषभपंच-कटपाणक कटपाणकस्तोत्र—सोमसूरि (A जिनकल्याणकादिस्तवन is attributed to सोमसुन्दरसूरि, who flourished in the 15th C.A.D. He is No. 50 of the Tapā

List (Paṭṭāvali I. 65, ll. 9 ff). He was born in S. 1430, became वाचक in S. 1450, सूरि in S. 1457 and died in S. 1499. His pupils were : मुनिसुन्दर, जयसुन्दर (जयचन्द्र) called कृष्णसरस्वती, भुवनसुन्दर and जिनसुन्दर (Paṭṭāvali, I p. 64 ll. 9 ff. p. 156, ll. 6 ff). At his time lived क्षेमकर, the author of सिंहासनद्वात्रिंशिका. (Indian Antiquary, XI p. 255). In S. 1496, he composed a प्रशस्ति for a विहार erected by सूत्रधार देपाक (son of मण्डन?) at the orders of King Kumbhakarna of Mevada—प्राचीनजैनलेखसंग्रह I 700. केशीगोयमसंधि, चतुरंगसंधि, चतुर्विंशतिजिनकल्याणक, चतुर्विंशतिजिनप्रतिमाकोश, जन्माभिषेक; जम्बूचरित्र composed in S. 1299. जिनकल्याण (or पंचकल्याण) स्तोत्र of मुनिचन्द्र; जिनचैत्यस्तवन, जिनपुरंदरकहा, जिनरात्रिविधानकथानक, जिनस्तुति, तपःसंधि, दगडउ, दशलक्षणजयमाला—भवशर्मन्; दानादि कुलक (A दानादिकुलक in the Apabhramśa language is attributed to प्रद्युम्नसूरि; one प्रद्युम्नसूरि of an unknown गच्छ lived in S. 1259; Dhātupratimālekha II. 72; one of नागेन्द्र गच्छ lived in S. 1437, ibid 338; another of ब्रह्मणगच्छ lived in S. 1509, ibid II. 198).

दोहामातृका, धर्मसूरिगुण, धर्मसूरिवारमास, धर्मसूरिस्तुति, नवकारफलकुलक, नागकुमारचरित, नित्यविधि of दिगम्बरी, निर्दोषसप्तमीकथा, पाशपङ्कहा.

पार्श्वनाथपुराण—पद्मकीर्ति, pupil of जिनसेन. The MS. is dated S. 1473. So he must have lived before that date. His spiritual genealogy is : चन्द्रसेन—माधवसेन—जिनसेन—पद्मकीर्ति (Cat. of SK. and Pkt. MSS. in CP and Berar, Intro. p. 52); but the date of none of these can be settled for certain. माधवसेन does not seem to have composed any work. Three different सूरि have चन्द्रसेन as their name; but none of them has माधवसेन as his pupil. So it has been difficult to decide the date of पद्मकीर्ति. प्रत्येकबुद्धचरित, बुद्धिरसायण—महीराज, बुद्धिसूरिस्तुति, भावनासार, मलयसूरिस्तुति, महावीरचरित in 108 stanzas.

महावीरचरित in 24 Apabhramśa stanzas, महावीरस्तोत्र, मुक्तावलिविधानकथा, मुनिचन्द्रसूरिस्तुति—देवसूरि.

मृगापुत्रकुलक or ०संधि or ०महषिचरित्र.

रोहिणीविधानकथा—देवनन्दि मुनि

लघुअजितशान्तिस्तव—वीरगणि, वीवरजिनपारणग—बर्धमानसूरि वीर विज्ञसिका.

वैरसामिचरित—वरदत्त, शाकुन, शालिभद्रकवक—पद्म

शीलसंधि—ईश्वरगणि, pupil of जयशेखरसूरि

सागरदत्तरास—शांतिसूरि, circa 1550 A.D.

सीतासती, सुकुमालसामिचरित—पुष्पभद्र (पूर्णभद्र) सुगोसलाचरित्र in S. 1302,

सुगन्धदशमीकथा, सोलहकारणजयमाल.

स्यूलिभद्रचरित्र

हरिवंशपुराण—श्रुतिकीर्ति.

THE WORD *VÍP* IN THE *RGVEDA**

By

S. A. UPADHYAYA

I. The word *víp* (mas. fem.) occurs for seventeen times¹ in the *R̥gveda*. Besides, it occurs as the first member of the compound in the words viz. *vīpaḥ-cít*² and *vīpaḥ-dhā*.³

Sāyaṇa explains the word *víp* as referring to a worshipper,⁴ deity⁵ or a finger.⁶ He also explains the word as *śatrūnām vepayitā rājā*⁷ or as *vepayitṛ*⁸ or as *prajñāna*.⁹ It may be noted that Sāyaṇa does not explain the word as denoting 'a hymn'.

Geldner translates the word as "Rede,¹⁰ Redekünste,¹¹ Finger,¹² zurede,¹³ Beredsamkeit,¹⁴ Redenschwall"¹⁵ and as an adjective "beredten".¹⁶ Böhtlingk¹⁷ and Grassmann,¹⁸ unlike Monier Williams,¹⁹ notes 'a hymn, speech' as one of the meanings of the word *víp*.

* Paper read at the 24th All India Oriental Conference, Varanasi, 1968.

1. See the seventeen stanzas translated in Section II.
2. The compound occurs for twenty-five times in the *R̥gveda*. Read also the next foot-note.
3. The compound occurs only at 10.46.5. *vīpaścít* and *vīpodhā* are compounds formed with *vīpaḥ* (Accusative plural of *víp*); cf. Wackernagel, A.G. (=Altindische Grammatic), Vol. II. 1, p. 204, para. 86 f.; cf. also the compounds *purohā* at 6.32.3c; *purandará* at 1.102.7d. Grassmann (WB (= Wörterbuch Zum Rigveda); col. 1283), Macdonell (Vedic Grammar, p. 113, para. 126.1) and Suryakant (A Grammatic Dictionary of Sanskrit (Vedic) pt. 1, p. 236) understand these two words as derived from *vīpas* (neu., formed with suffix *as*) which as Wackernagel (A.G., Vol. II. 2, p. 233, para. 129, a, y) points out is not very convincing. Moreover, the word *vīpas* (neu.) is not used in the *R̥gveda*.
4. 3.3.1; 3.10.5 etc.
5. 3.3.7; 9.99.1.
6. 9.3.2; 9.65.12; 10.99.6.
7. 4.48.1.
8. 8.1.4.
9. 9.22.3.
10. 3.10.5 etc.
11. 4.48.1.
12. 6.44.6.
13. 9.3.2.
14. 9.22.3.
15. 9.65.12.
16. 5.68.1.
17. Cf. *víp* (1) Adj. innerlich erregt, begeistert. —(2) f. (a) Ruthe, Gerte, dünner stab, Schaft (des Pfeils u.s.w.). Bei der Soma-Bereitung die stäbe, welche den Boden des Trichters bilden und das Sehtuch tragen.—(b)* Rede. —(c) Finger.—Sanskrit Wörterbuch; Sechster Theil, ST. Petersburg, 1886; p. 101.
18. Cf. *víp* a., m., f. [von vip], (1) a., begeistert (vom Liede); daher (2) m., der innerlich erregte begeisterte Priester, und (3) f., Lied; (4) f. Schössling. Schwanker Zweig, parallel mit *vayā* (5) f., Stäbe, auf welchen das Sehtuch der Somaseihe liegt; (b) f., der Pfeil (als der geschnellte)—Wörterbuch Zum Rig-Veda; Wiesbaden, 1955.
19. *víp*, mfn. inwardly stirred or excited, inspired, RV.; f. 'easily moved or bent, flexible (?)', a switch, rod &c., the shaft (of an arrow), the rods (which form the bottom of the Soma filter, and support the straining cloth), RV.; a finger, Naigh. ii, 5.

The substantive *vīp* derived from the root *vip*²⁰ 'to tremble with inspiration'; denotes "an inspired thought". The use of the root *gā*²¹ with the word *vīp* indicates that the latter is 'an inspired hymn'. It springs up from the inspired heart of a poet. The external finish and the artistic skill in the composition are its less important aspects; hence the roots like *man* and *taṣ* and the Upamānas like that of a chariot are never employed in its context. It is sung with eloquence; hence its poet is referred to as an eloquent person.²²

The *vīp*, being an inspired hymn, is, no doubt, stimulant also. It is employed in order to incite the martial powers of Agni.²³ On account of its invigorating aspect, it is considered as 'powerful'; Indra, therefore, is described as overpowering the enemy by the power of the Vips of his worshippers.²⁴ It is conceived as a weapon, for Trita is referred to as having killed a boar with an iron-tipped Vip.²⁵

The Vip contains the praise of a deity. Soma is deemed to be famous on account of the Vips of the poet-priests.²⁶

The Vip in order to be fruitful, must reach the deity and the latter must willingly accept and enjoy it. The poet, therefore, desires that the Vips of his rivals should be unenjoyed by the deity.²⁷ The Vips of the rivals are described as oscillating between their poet and the god.²⁸ Aśvins accept the Vips of their poet-priests.²⁹

The Vip, like an ornament, decorates the deity. It is brilliant like a star; hence Indra decorates his own body with the Vips of his poet-priests.³⁰ Soma is prepared i.e. decorated by the Vips.³¹

The poet-priests who compose a Vip are referred to as '*vipaścīt*'³² i.e. 'one who knows (the art of composing, singing and employing) a Vip'. Though composed by a poet-priest, it is inspired by a deity. Agni is called the 'wise inspirer of the Vips,'³³ and the bes-

20. Read Oldenberg, Vedic Hymns, Pt. II, S. B. E. Series XLVI, p. 234. Burrow (Sanskrit Language p. 291) suggests *p* suffix added to the verb *vi* (cf. *viḥ*, *vyath* etc. which have the radical *vi*). Is *vi* = *vā* 'to weave'; for the association of a hymn and the root *vā* cf. *arkam uvuḥ* at 1.61.8; *dhiyam vayataḥ* at 2.28.5 etc.

21. Cf. *prā vo mitrāya gāyata vārunāya vipā girā* at 5.68.1ab.

22. Cf. *sā pīpṛṣāti tanvi śrutāśya stībhīr nā nākamvacanāśya vipaḥ* at 6.49.12cd.

23. Cf. *vīpo nā dyumnā nī yuue jānānām tāva kṣatrāṇi vardhāyan* at 8.19.33d.

24. Cf. *āstrnād barhānā vipaḥ* at 8.63.7c.

25. Cf. *asyā tritō nvōjasā vrdhānō vipā varāhām āyograyā han* at 10.99.6cd.

26. Cf. 9.65.12a.

27. Cf. *āvitā vīpo nā rāyo aryāḥ* at 4.48.1b.

28. Cf. *vī tatūryante maghavan vipaścīto'ryō vīpo jānānām* at 8.1.4ab.

29. Cf. 10.61.3b.

30. Cf. 6.49.12cd.

31. Cf. *esā devō vipā kṛtāḥ* at 9.3.2a.

32. Cf. 3.3.4a; 8.1.4a; 8.3.3c; 8.43.19b; 8.65.9a; 10.177.1b.

33. Cf. *uśīḡ devānām āśi sukrātūr vipām* at 3.3.7d.

tower of the Vips'.³⁴ Even the poet-priest is referred to as 'bearing the light of the Vips'³⁵ as he composes in words the inspired hymn. Deities like Indra,³⁶ Soma,³⁷ Agni,³⁸ Savitr,³⁹ Mitra and Varuṇa⁴⁰ and Ṛbhus⁴¹ are called *vipaścít* (i.e. 'an inspirer of a Vip'); in such a context, the root-noun *cít* is to be understood in its causal sense. It may be noted that a hymn too, is called *vipaścít*⁴² i.e. Vip-inspiring one.

The Vip is closely associated with Soma. It is employed while preparing milk for Soma-juices.⁴³ The Soma-drops are described as having pervaded a Vip.⁴⁴ Soma is called *vipá kṛtáḥ*.⁴⁵

It is accompanied by offerings—rich offerings.⁴⁶

It is employed to secure help from a deity. The helps from Indra rise up correspondingly to the Vips of the poet.⁴⁷ It is offered in order that the worshippers may travel on the firm ground⁴⁸ i.e. on the path leading to well secured prosperity. It is utilized for strengthening the deity.⁴⁹

The Dhitis are described as shining before the Vips.⁵⁰

To sum up, a Vip is an inspired song, praising and decorating the deity. It is both inspired by a deity and inspiring him.

II. In support of the conclusion drawn above, the translation of the passages from the *Ṛgveda* wherein the word *víp* occurs, is given below.

(1) III. 3.1: (Agni)

They have offered hymns (Vips) and sacrificial gifts to Vaiśvānara of abundant lustre in order that they might travel on firm ground. The immortal Agni serves the gods and has not violated, as before, the (sacred) laws.

(ab) Construe *vipah* and *rátma*. In the *Ṛgveda*, *rátma* generally refers to a gift from the gods to men. At 3.28.5d and in our passage, it refers to "a rich sacrificial gift i.e. an offering" from the sacrificers to the gods. cf. Velankar H. D.,

34. Cf. *vipodhā* at 10.46.5a.

35. Cf. *vipām jyōtimsi bibhrate ná vedhāse* at 3.10.5c.

36. Cf. 1.4.4b; 8.13.10a; 8.98.1c.

37. Cf. 9.12.3; 9.16.8a; 9.22.3a; 9.22.1a; 9.86.36b, 44a; 9.96.22.

38. Cf. 3.27.2a.

39. Cf. 5.81.1b.

40. Cf. 5.63.7a.

41. Cf. 4.36.7c.

42. Cf. *tvām soma vipaścítam punāno vācam iṣyasi* at 9.64.25ab.

43. Cf. 9.99.1cd.

44. Cf. 9.22.3c.

45. Cf. 9.3.2a.

46. Cf. 3.3.1b.

47. Cf. *vipo ná yāsyotāyo vi yād rōhanti sakṣitah* at 6.44.6cd.

48. Cf. 3.3.1b.

49. Cf. 8.19.33cd.

50. Cf. 8.6.7ab.

Ṛgveda Maṇḍala III, Bombay, 1968; p. 11. Geldner construes *vīpo rātnā* as an incomplete compound (forerunner of the later formations like *kanyāratnam*) and translates it as "Redeperlen" (= Speech-pearls). Sāyaṇa understands *vīpaḥ* as *stotāraḥ* and *rātnā* as *stotrāṇi*.

(2) III. 3.7: (Agni)

O Agni, be wakeful in regard to the life endowed with good offspring; fatten (yourself) by (our) food; shine well upon our food. O wakeful one, inspire (our) vitalities and great (food-stores); you are the zealous priest of the gods and a wise (inspirer) of hymns (Vips).

(c) Supply *vājān* after *bṛhatāḥ*; cf. 6.1.11c; 2.2.7a. *sām iṣo didihi*—Cf. 3.54.22a; 5.4.2c etc.

(d) *sukrātūr vipām*—Cf. *vipām jyōtīmṣi bībhṛate* at 3.10.5c; *vipodhām (agnim)* at 10.46.5a.

(3) III. 10.5: (Agni)

Offer the great ancient hymn to Agni, the Hotṛ, who, like a priest, bears the light of the hymns (Vips).

(c) Cf. 3.3.7d. Agni bears i.e. supports the light of the *vips* and the priest bears i.e. treasures within himself the light of the *vips*. For the simile cf. Velankar, H. D., *Ṛgveda Maṇḍala III*, p. 32.

(4) IV. 48.1: (Vāyu)

Enjoy (our) offerings; let the wealth of the rival be unenjoyed like (his) hymns (Vips). O Vāyu, come with your lovely chariot, for a drink of pressed-out Soma-juice.

(b) *vīpo nā rdyāḥ*—In the simile, both the Upamāna (*Vīpaḥ*) and the Upameya (*rdyāḥ*) are *prakṛta*. For *vīpaḥ ... aryāḥ* cf. *vācam = aryāḥ* at 10.42.1c. *āvitā vīpo nā* as Geldner suggests, may also mean "odd i.e. uneven like the fingers". For the simile cf. 6.44.6 and 8.19.33.

(ab) *āvitā vīpaḥ = aryāḥ*—cf. *vī tartūryante ... aryā vīpaḥ* at 8.1.4ab.

(5) V. 68.1: (Mitrāvaruṇau)

With a hymn (Vip) and a prayer (Gir), sing loudly to your Mitra and Varuṇa. O Lords of great martial power, you are the great Ṛta.

(6) VI. 44.6: (Indra)

Therefore, the strength of your prayer (Uktha) is to be spread out for Indra, whose helps, residing together (in him), variously rise up like (our) hymns (Vips).

(a) *barhānā* is nominative; Geldner and Grassmann (WB., col. 900) construe it as instrumental; Geldner supplies *upastaraṇam* "Unterlage" (= base) as the object of *upastrīṣāni* and explains that a hymn or a sacrificial service serves as a carpet for Indra.

(c) *vīpaḥ nā* is translated by Geldner as "wie die Finger (?)" following Naighanṭu 2.5.

(7) VI. 49.12: (*Viśve Devāh*)

Send (a hymn) to the strong, overpowering and mighty one, as a herdsman (drives) the cattle home. He decorates (his) body with the hymns (*Vips*) of the famous eloquent (poet-priest), like the heaven with the stars.

- (a) refers to Indra; cf. 6.32.16. According to Sāyana it refers to the Maruts.
 (b) Cf. *ūpa te stómān paśupā tvākaram* at 1.114.9a.

(8) VIII. 1.4: (*Indra*)

The hymns (*Vips*) of the wise rival of (our) men, move forward and backward, O Maghavan. Come to us; bring a reward of varied form for (our) help so as to be nearest (to us).

- (a) *vī tartūryante* — oscillates. The hymns of the rivals neither reach the deity nor go back to the poet; cf. *āvītā vipāh... aryāh* at 4.48.1ab.
 (cd) *pururūpamā bhara vājam nēdiṣṭhamūtāye* — Cf. 8.60.18cd.

(9) VIII. 6.7: (*Indra*)

These prayers (*Dhītis*) which shine like the flame of Agni, at the forefront of hymns (*Vips*), and we, loudly praise you.

- (ab) *imā... prā ṇonumah... dhītayah* — Cf. *imā... prā ṇonuvur girah* at 6.45.25ab.

(a) *prā ṇonumah* (first person, plu.) suggests that the Karvas identified themselves with their *Dhitis*; cf. *abhī kānvā anūṣata* at 8.6.34a.

(b) *vipām āgreṣu* — for a similar expression cf. 9.99.1d; also *āgre vācāh* at 9.86.12b and 9.106.10c.

(10) VIII. 19.33: (*Agni*)

O Agni, such as you are, other fires are subordinate to you like the branches (to a tree). I yoke the glories of (my) people, like (my) hymns (*Vips*), (thus) increasing your martial powers.

- (c) *jānānām* refers to the followers of the poet.

(11) VIII. 63.7: (*Indra*)

When the songs (*Ghoṣās*) are released to Indra by the people of the five tribes, he overpowers (the enemy) by the power of the hymns (*Vips*). He is the ruler of the mansion of an enemy.

(c) *barhānā vipāh* — Cf. *ukthāsya barhānā* at 6.44.6a. Geldner suggests *barhānāh* (against Pada-pāṭha) *vipāh* i.e. 'the confident or powerful speeches'.

(cd) Geldner translates: "da brachte durch seinen Eifer dieses Haus der Melodie die Reden des Nebenbuhlers zu Falle".

(12) IX. 3.2: (*Soma*)

This purifying and undeceivable god, decorated by (our) hymns (*Vips*) runs through (i.e. beyond) impediments.

(a) *vipā kṛtāh* — "prepared by fingers" according to Sāyana and Bhawe (Soma-Hymns, I, Baroda, 1957, p. 17). For *kṛ* 'to decorate' or 'to furnish' cf. *rātha iva bhāti... kṛtō pastūtyā... sāravati* at 6.61.13cd; *barhānā kṛtāh (indrah)* at 1.54.3c; also *pāriṣkṛtāsa indraḥ* at 9.46.2a; *gīrbhūh pāriṣkṛtaḥ* at 9.43.3b; *matibhūh pāriṣkṛtaḥ* at 9.105.2c; 9.86.24d. These passages indicate that *vipāh*

even in the context of Soma means 'hymns'. Geldner translates *vipā* as "durch Zuredē (=through urge or encouragement). Also cf. Renou, L. *Études Védiques et Pāninéennes* Tome VIII, p. 3 (... fabriqué par la parole-inspirée...); also Tome V, p. 81. etc.

(b) *dhāvati* suggests the comparison of Soma with a race-horse.

(13) IX. 22.3: (Soma)

These purified wise (i.e. *Vipa*-inspiring) Soma-drops, mixed with curds, have pervaded the prayers (*Dhis*) together with a hymn (*Vip*).

(ab) = 9.101.12ab.

(c) *vipā* is explained by Bhawe as 'with movement or inspiration'; cf. Soma-Hymns, II, Baroda, 1960, pp. 25, 26.

(14) IX. 65.12: (Soma)

(O Soma), being the tawny-coloured one, and famous on account of this hymn (*Vip*), flow with this stream. Inspire (your) companion in battles.

(ab) Read Bhawe, S.S., Soma-Hymns, III, Baroda, 1962; pp. 82, 89.

(15) IX. 99.1: (Soma)

They stretch the bow—the heroic deed—for the loveable and spirited one. The great ones (i.e. the fingers) weave the bright garment for the mighty one, in front of the hymns (*Vips*).

(c) *śukrām...* *nirñijam* refers to the milk.

(d) *vipām* = *āgre* — Cf. 8.6.7b.,

(16) X. 61.3: (*Viśve Devāḥ*)

He, the strong heroic one—at whose calls, sharp like the thought, running with might, you (O *Aśvins*), accept the hymn (*Vip*)—hit the target with arrows in (his) hands.

(c) *śāryābhiḥ*, as Geldner suggests, refers to the arrows of his words, i.e. the hymns.

(17) X. 99.6: (*Indra*)

He, the lord and the tamer, indeed, subdued the strong voiced *Dāsa* of six eyes and three heads. *Trita*, growing powerful through his (i.e. *Indra*'s) strength, killed the boar with a hymn (*Vip*) having an iron-tip.

(d) *varāhām* refers to the *Dāsa* mentioned in ab. *Vipā...* *āyoagrayā* i.e. with a *Vip* that served as a (sharp) iron-tip.

BOOK REVIEWS

PAURANIC AND TANTRIC RELIGION by Dr. J. N. Banerjea, University of Calcutta; 1966; p. 188; Price Rs. 12/50.

The present work consists of the lectures delivered by Dr. Banerjea at the Centre of Advanced Study in Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta in April 1965. It is sad to recall that Dr. Banerjea passed away by the time the book was ready for publication.

The work consists of six lectures, or chapters, of which the first is introductory, followed by chapters on Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, Śakti, and Sun worship, while the last chapter is devoted to 'Minor Cults', that is, of Kārttikeya and Gaṇapati. But the name is slightly misleading, for *tantra* or the tantric aspect of these cults has been treated here very superficially. Thus it seems, the book follows the pattern of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's famous work. Secondly, the work deals only with earlier phases of these cults, and though Dr. Banerjea has used the word "early medieval period" many times, he has not indicated the precise period which he intends to cover. Broadly speaking he has covered up to the end of Gupta period. Dr. Banerjea also avoided any discussion of the philosophy associated with these cults, and based his treatment mostly on archaeological data supplemented by a few well-known texts. A peculiar method of treatment however is that very few references to cited records are given.

Indeed the book contains mostly of summary of more or less well-known views, and may serve as a suitable text book for beginners; however, Dr. Banerjea in many instances did not analyse the statements of his predecessors, and thus helped to give fresh lease of life to certain theories, which do not appear to be correct. For example he has accepted the identity of Devakī-putra Kṛṣṇa of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, with Kṛṣṇa of the *Mahabhārata* (pp. 22-23).

This view was first put forward by Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri in his work *Early History of Vaishnava Sect*, but has been refuted by Dr. S. K. De (*The Vedic and Epic Krishna*, IHQ, XVIII, (1942), pp. 297-301) and Svāmī Vidyāranya (known in his *pūrvāśrama* as Dr. B. B. Datta) in his work *Bhāgavat Dharmer Prācīn Itihās* (Vol. I, Calcutta; 1963, pp. 163-66). We shall here note only one point in Dr. Raychaudhuri's argument which has not been noticed by Dr. De and Svāmī Vidyāranya. Dr. Raychaudhuri has stated: "The teacher of the Upanishadic Krishna belonged to a family (Aṅgīrasa) closely associated with Bhojas, the kindred of epic Krishna," his authority for this statement being *Rgveda*, iii, 53.7. (*Early History*

of the *Vaishnava Sect*, 2nd ed. p. 57). Now, Bhoja has been translated by Geldner as *Gastfreinen* (hospitable man) and by Grassman as *Freiegiebig* (very charitable) and Prof. H. D. Velankar has translated the passage as follows:

"These *rich patrons* are indeed Virupa Āṅgirasas, the manly sons of the mighty Dyū, themselves. . . ." (Italics mine.)

In a foot-note Prof. Velankar has added: "*bhoja* has already become a common name for a liberal donor in the Ṛgveda; see. e.g. 10.107-8-11. (Prof. Velankar's translation is in the Press).

Similarly, in the vexed question of the date of the *Gītā*, Dr. Banerjea (p. 31) has uncritically accepted the date 3rd century, B.C. suggested by Dr. Raychaudhuri; here he has completely ignored Dr. S. N. Das Gupta, who after a critical analysis of the *Gītā*, came to the conclusion that it was a pre-Buddhist text. (S. N. Das Gupta: *A History of Indian Philosophy*, II, pp. 437-552).

Dr. Raychaudhuri quoted a few verses from the *Gītā* and showed their similarity with certain passages from the Upaniṣads, and Dr. Banerjea has laid great stress upon this similarities to prove that Kṛṣṇa of the *Mahābhārata* was a disciple of Ghora of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*. (p. 23) Now, Kṛṣṇa of the *Mahābhārata* could have learnt all the Upaniṣads without being a disciple of a Ṛṣi mentioned in a Upaniṣad; secondly Kṛṣṇa's denunciation of the Vedic rites in the *Gītā* are hardly consistent with Dr. Raychaudhuri's theory. Moreover, the identification of Devakiputra Kṛṣṇa with Kṛṣṇa of the *Gītā*, involves a chronological difficulty. The date of the *Gītā* "as we have it now" has been taken by Dr. Banerjea (following Dr. Raychaudhuri) to be third century B.C. As no body (with the possible exception of a few European scholars) knows what the "original" *Gītā* was like, one has to proceed on the current text. Dr. Banerjea has not discussed the date of the Upaniṣads, but (p. 6) has stated that the *Chāndogya* is one of the early Upaniṣads, from which one may conclude that according to him the *Chāndogya* is pre-Buddhistic; from this it would follow that Kṛṣṇa-Devakiputra lived much earlier than Buddha. Therefore, a text of the third century B.C. could hardly have been his handiwork. Possibly in order to avoid this anomalous position, Dr. Banerjea had to accept Hill's theory "that at certain stage in the development of the Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva cult some brilliant member of the sect composed the *Gītā* with a purpose, using no doubt, a quantity of the older material, but not merely setting the old side by side with the new, rather working up the whole into a simple unity to meet the needs of his time." (p. 32). If that is so, it is strange that Dr. Banerjea, should still quote verses from the *Gītā* and refer to them as "Lord's" word. Or is it intended that the

few verses quoted by Dr. Banerjea are "Lord's words" and the rest fabrications?

A few other points of the work may be noted here. Dr. Banerjea has stated that "Even teachings of Jesus Christ and Muhammad were incorporated in such late apocryphal works as *Khrish-topanishad* and *Allopanishad*." (p. 7). The reference given is to the Adyar Library Edition of the Minor Upaniṣads. This edition indeed contains an *Allopaniṣad*, but it has nothing to do with Islam; it is a Śākta Upaniṣad, and has been so classified quite correctly for *allā* means mother.

As regards the *Khrish-topanishad*, we remember to have once seen a printed work of this (or similar) name, which was an abridged translation in Sanskrit verse of the Bible. But, so far as we remember, the author had made it quite clear that the book was composed in the early years of the present century. The point, however, is that the existence of such works does not necessarily mean that all the later Upaniṣads are worthless. These later Upaniṣads have never been properly studied by modern scholars; but it is difficult to see how a book on Puranic and Tantric religion can dispense with the later Upaniṣads, for not only they have a direct bearing on such religions and some, if not most, of these later Upaniṣads may be contemporary of even earlier than many late Purāṇas. In this connection, it may be useful to recall that the meaning of Upaniṣad according to Deussen is 'Secret doctrine', and even the *Gītā* calls itself a Upaniṣad.

We have dilated on this point at some length because it seems that an academic tradition has been handed down from European scholars that, long ago there existed a pure pristine religion in the Vedic days, which steadily, through passage of time, suffered transformation and by the end of the Gupta period had become so degraded that further study would be hardly worthwhile. Whatever the merits of such a view, the fact remains that the importance of Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism, is entirely due to the great *ācāryas* most of whom flourished long after the end of the Gupta period: similar is the development of *tantra* and Śakti worship. They institutionalized these cults, and endowed them with a purposeful vitality which rendered Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism all India movements, which indeed they are even today. This is the distinction between these cults and others like Sūrya or Gaṇapati.

We recognize that in the course of six lectures, such a vast field cannot be covered. That is why that such an impossible task should not be undertaken.

A. K. Majumdar.

HINDI

PRACIN BHĀRAT ME RĀJYA OUR NYAYAPALIKĀ (State and Judiciary in Ancient India) by Dr. Hariharnath Tripathi, Published by Motilal Banarasidas, Delhi; 1965; pp. 374; price Rs. 10/.

Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Ganganath Jha's *Hindu Law and Its Sources* (Patna, 1931) was probably the first authoritative Hindi work to deal with ancient Hindu law. So far as we know, Dr. Tripathi's book is the second Hindi work on the subject. The subject dealt with Dr. Tripathi is, however, more comprehensive, and the work will no doubt enrich this branch of modern Hindi literature and will be found useful as a university text-book.

It is interesting to observe in this connection that though Dr. Jha recognized the difference between literary Hindi and literary Urdu, he was still forced to use many Urdu words for at that time their equivalents were not to be found in Hindi. Happily, that state of affairs is over now, and Dr. Tripathi has been able to dispense with Urdu words. However, we may note in this connection the use of some unseemly (*śrutikaṭu*) words like *ghumakkar-vidvān* (p. 21, f.n.) and *naukarśāhi* (p. 128); the word *parivrājaka* has been used in p. 13, hence instead of *ghumakkar-vidvān*, 'wandering-teachers' should have been rendered as *parivrājakācārya*; similarly he has used the word *gaṇatantra*, therefore instead of *naukarśāhi* bureaucracy should have been rendered as *karmacāri-tantra*, more so because in the next sentence he has rendered bureaucrats as *karmacāri*. Similarly appropriate Hindi words might have been used for *apil* (appeal), *śārārat*, *jamānat*, etc.

Another point which may be mentioned here for the benefit of all students who write Ph.D. thesis, is that it is risky to find fault with Dr. Kane. On p. 138, Dr. Tripathi states that "*Kāṇe ne vivāda kā artha vyavahāra hī kiyā hai.*" This is not correct. Actually Dr. Kane has given the same etymological meaning of *vyavahāra* which Dr. Tripathi has given on p. 260, but has merely pointed out that in two texts *vivāda* has been used as a synonym for *vyavahāra* in the sense of law-suit or legal procedure or both. (Incidentally Dr. Tripathi's reference to Kane on p. 138 is wrong; it should be p. 246 and not p. 266). Again on p. 203, Dr. Tripathi has differed from Dr. Kane on the interpretation of a verse from the *Matsya-purāṇa*. Here again Dr. Tripathi has misunderstood Dr. Kane, who refers to Nārada in connection with 'nuns of a higher order' and not to the *Matsya-purāṇa*.

We may also point out another hasty conclusion by Dr. Tripathi. On p. 135, he states that according to Medhātithi royal power of legislation (*Rāja-śāsana*) included capital (*rājadhānī*), fairs,

social gatherings, slaughter of animals etc. though royal ordinances had to be in conformity with the Dharmaśāstras. What Dr. Tripathi overlooks is that, the power granted to the king by Medhātithi (Manu VII, 13) is qualified as will be apparent from the following translation by MM. Dr. Jha: "Because the King 'contains within himself the splendour of all,' therefore,—in favour of his favourites'—towards those ministers, priests and others who are in favour,—whenever in course of business, a 'decree'—an ordinance, in consonance with Law and Custom—is ordained or issued by the King;—no one should transgress such a decree. Such a decree of the King's should not be disobeyed; such a decree for instance as 'To-day, the city should observe a holiday—there is a marriage in the minister's house,—all men should be present there,—no animals shall be slaughtered to-day by the soldiers,—no birds are to be caught,—for so many days dancing girls shall be entertained by all wealthy men.'

Similarly 'against those in disfavour',—such a decree as—'no one shall associate with this person,—no one should allow him to enter his house'.

"When such decrees are issued by the King by the beat of drum etc. they shall not be transgressed. But the King has no power to control the ordinances pertaining to religious acts, such as the *Agnihotra* and the like, of the orders and castes. Such control would be repugnant to other *Smṛti* texts; and the present text has its application, without offending against any *Smṛti* text, in cases indicated above."

In the notes Dr. Jha has explained as follows:

"This verse is quoted in *Parāśaramādhava* (Ācāra, p. 392);—and in *Vīramitrodaya* (Rājanīti, p. 23), which adds the following notes:—Inasmuch as the king is the centre of all lustre and power, one should never transgress any lawful and fair commands that his majesty may issue in regard to his minister, priest or other favourites;—such commands for instance as—'To-day should be observed by all the people as a day of rejoicing, there is a marriage in the minister's house, all should be present there, butchers shall kill no animals today, no birds are to be caught, no debtors are to be imprisoned by their creditors' and so forth (these in regard to the king's favourites).—Similarly in regard to one whom he dislikes, he may issue such orders as—'none shall associate with him, he should not be permitted to enter any household.' and so forth.—Such rules promulgated by the king should not be disobeyed. In regard to the performance of the *Agnihotra* and such religious acts, however, the king has no right to interfere at all.

This verse is quoted also in *Rājanītiratnākara* (p. 42 b)."

It is clear therefore that the royal order cannot only not transgress the Dharmaśāstra laws but the caste rules as well. And as for animal slaughter, the king can order his soldiers (according to Medhātithi) and the butchers (according to the *Vīramitrodaya*), —but cannot order a private person to desist from slaughtering animals. This probably indicates that the slaughter houses were controlled by the State. But what is more interesting, is that some Indian kings in medieval ages forbade the slaughter of animals apparently disregarding Manu.

We heartily agree with the author when he states: "*Rājya sādhan hai, usse kisī sādhyā kī utpatti nahī hotī* (p. 9)". This indeed is an aspect of our heritage which is ignored by many writers. Ancient Indians never considered the State as an end; hence one of the lines of inquiry which they never pursued was philosophy of State and its basis, history. They aspired for a stable society and in this were successful through establishing a rigid social system. That system and attitude have been rejected, and the result has been aptly pointed out by Dr. Tripathi: "*Āj vidhishāstra 'sāmājīk vidhī na hokar 'vaidhānik niyam' hai.*" (p. 252)

NĀYAK NĀYIKĀ BHED AUR RAG-RĀGĪNĪ VARGI KARAN, TULANĀTMAK ADHYAYAN (Distinction of *Nāyakas* (heroes) and classification of *Rāgas* and *Rāgīnīs*, A Comparative Study) by Dr. Pradip Kumar Dikshit; with an introduction by late Pandit Omkarnath Thakur; pp. 195; Published by Bharatiya Vidya Prakashan, Varanasi: 1967; Price Rs. 12/-.

A characteristic feature of Sanskrit culture has been an emphasis on definition and classification, to which music as an intellectual discipline had to submit. According to Dr. Dikshit, in ancient times, 'music' was a part of drama, an inseparable part, but having no independent origination had no separate existence. In course of time, however, music, due to its dynamic nature separated from drama, and a quest for its classification began. Thus the classification is of a dual character, for in spite of subjective limitations literary criterions were superimposed on theories of music, while its abstract expression of ideas demanded new categories. Dr. Dikshit has therefore attempted classification from five points of view (pp. 92-93).

This has not made the task of the author easier, but fortunately he has an easy and lucid style. The large number of tables is also very helpful. There is also an excellent bibliography, but there is no index and the reproduction of the plates is of poor quality. However, though the book is scholarly, it may serve as a guide to Indian music-lovers.

PRACIN BHARAT ME SANGIT by Dr. Dhramavati Srivastava;
Published by Bharatiya Vidya Prakashan, Varanasi; pp. 322;
Price Rs. 15/-.

As the author has explained in her preface, modern study of Indian music, began with Sir William Jones, and have continued like a steady stream. Such studies were, however, mainly of antiquarian or analytical interest. Dr. Srivastava has approached the subject from a new angle; her attempt has been to correlate the effect of music on society, as well as to trace the social environments in which music developed. A study of this nature is handicapped by paucity of materials, but even within this limitation Dr. Srivastava has succeeded in presenting a more or less continuous narrative of the history of the development of Indian music from the earliest times till the end of the Gupta age.

A. K. Majumdar

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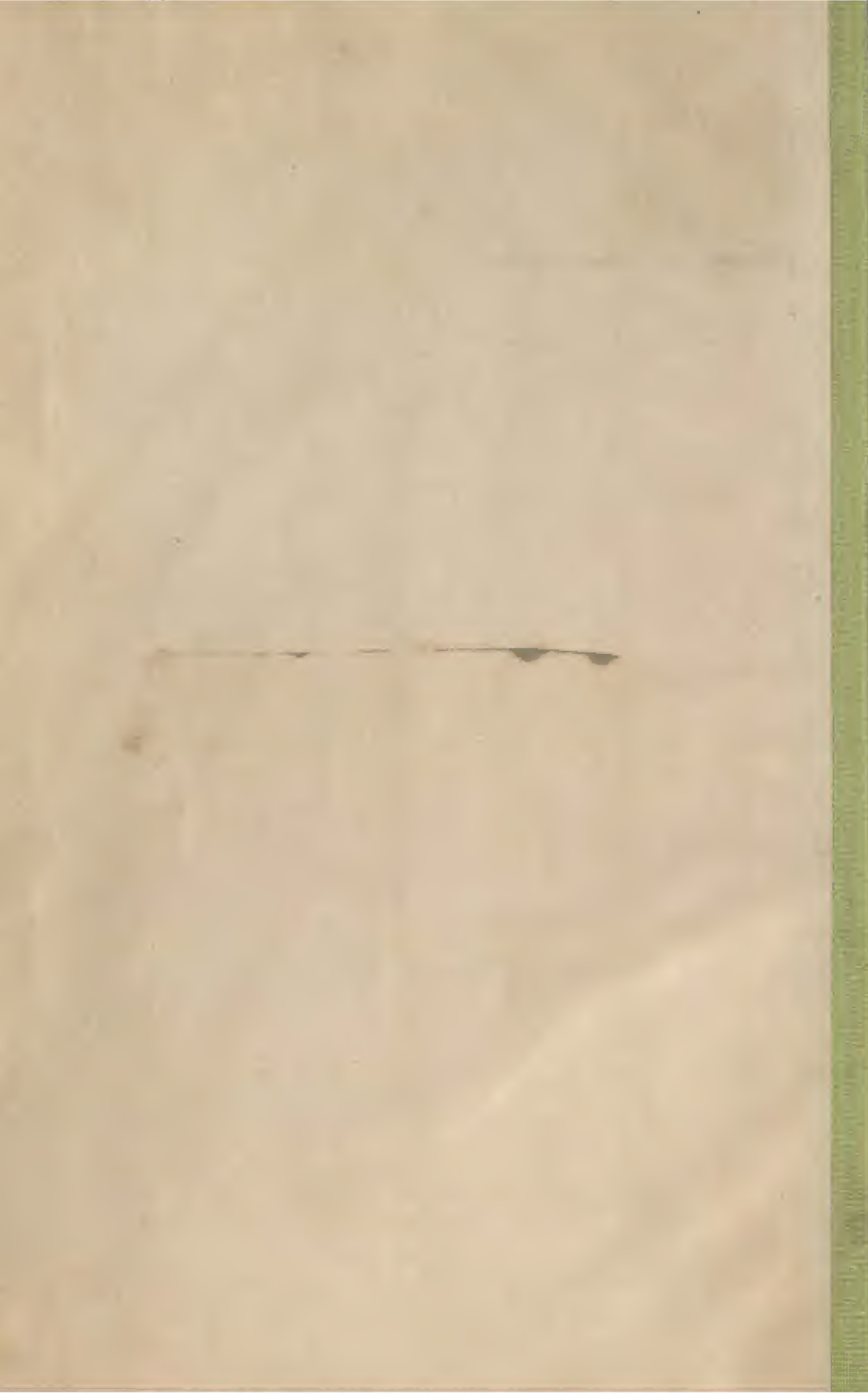
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